ORIENTALIA BOHEMICA · OPERA MINORA
VOLUME 1

VINCENC POŘÍZKA

OPERA MINORA

STUDIES IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND NEW INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

EDITED BY
JAROSLAV STRNAD

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE
ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF THE CZECH REPUBLIC
PRAGUE
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CONTENTS

Introduction 7

Part I. : STUDIES IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

1. Bhagavadgītā eiusque doctrina de bhakti.
   Ad marginem status questionis 13
2. Existatne connexio Bhagavadgītam inter et Evangelium S. Joannis 18
3. De conceptu gratiae in Bhagavadgītā et in Novo Testamento
   (bhakti, prasāda – ἀγάπη, χάρις) 24
4. The Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament.
   Some Notes on the Presumed Parallelism 34

Part II. : STUDIES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

5. Hindī Participles Used as Substantives. Marginal Notes to the Syntax
   of the Imperfective and Perfective Participles in Hindī Prose 61
6. The Adjectival and Adverbial Participles in Hindī Syntax 78
7. Notes on R. N. Vale's Theory of Verbal Composition in Hindī,
   Bengālī, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī 90
8. The Genitive in Hindī 102
9. Deictic Demonstratives in Indo-Aryan. Notes on Some Special Uses 116
10. On the Perfective Verbal Aspect in Hindī. Some Features of Parallelism
    between New Indo-Aryan and Slavonic Languages 131
11. On Some Verbal Expressions in Hindī.
    The Actual Present (the Present Continuous, the Progressive Form).
    The Perfective Verbal Expressions 232
12. Perfective Verbal Expressions in Hindī
    (A New Line of Approach to the Problem) 246
13. On the Perfective Verbal Aspect in Bengali
    (Apropos of Some Recent Publications) 262

Transliteration Conventions and Bibliographical Notes 276

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INTRODUCTION

Vincenc Pořízka (1905-1982), one of the eminent Czech Indologists and the true founding father of Hindī studies in Czechoslovakia after the World War II, is known to most Hindī scholars and many students of this language all over the world mainly as the author of a bilingual textbook *Hindština - Hindī Language Course* (2nd ed., Prague 1972). In it he was able to describe in a concise form and integrate successfully into a textbook format the most essential - including some of the most difficult - parts of Hindī grammar. This achievement rested on firm basis of a long teaching experience and his own researches into selected aspects of Hindī grammar, notably the Hindī verbal system.

From 1950 till the late 1970s Pořízka wrote a number of detailed articles on Hindī participles, uses of demonstrative pronouns and aspectual functions of „modified" or „complex verbal expressions" (an expression he preferred to the widely used term „compound verbs"). It is particularly the painstaking analysis of this complex phenomenon as it manifests itself in various types of texts (novels, short stories, dramas, but also newspapers, leaflets etc.) and its comparison with similar features found in others, especially Slavic, languages, that turned out to be of vital importance for a better understanding of the Hindī verbal system. Printed several decades ago mostly in the Archiv Orientální (ArOr), a learned journal published by the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, these articles may not be readily available to intersted scholars abroad. His most important work, *On the Perfective Verbal Aspect in Hindī. Some Features of Parallelism between New Indo-Aryan and Slavonic Languages,* monograph running for more than one hundred pages of a dense text, was originally published in five instalments in three consecutive year's volumes of ArOr in the late 1960s. The purpose of the present volume is to make the fruits of Pořízka's learning more easily available, in a more convenient format, to the international scholarly community.

In addition to his studies in New Indo-Aryan languages, the editor decided, after some deliberation, to include also Pořízka's earlier articles that reflect his interest in comparative religion, particularly in the problem of possible relationship between Bhagavadgīta and the New Testament. These articles are of some significance not only as instances illustrating the direction and development of his main intellectual pursuits, but are interesting in themselves as fine specimens of his developing analytical thinking and capability of sober and balanced formulations. His extended study, *The Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament. Some Notes on the Presumed Parallelism* (1939), can be read with profit by students of comparative religion even today.

Vincenc Pořízka was born on 9 November, 1905 in a small Moravian town of Drahany as one of seven children in a family whose parents, and later also brothers and sisters, worked as poor factory tailors in a nearby town of Boskovice. Showing exceptional talent and diligence since his early school days, Vincenc was sent in 1917 by his parents to state gymnasium in Prostějov. After two years, these studies proved to be a too big financial burden for the family and a decision was made to let him continue in the Archbishop's gymansium in Kroměříž which granted financial assistance - in exchange for Vincenc's pledge to pursue a clerical career. In 1925 the successful graduate was admitted as a student at the Faculty of Theology at the University of Olomouc. After his graduation there he returned in 1929 as a teacher to gymnasium in Kroměříž. In 1932 he was promoted to the degree of Doctor of Theology and in the same year was granted one-year scholarsip at the Instituto Pontifico degli Studi Orientali in Rome. Understandably, both his doctoral thesis, *Syn člověka v nejnovější exegesi* [Son of Man in the Most Recent Exegesis] (Praha 1935) and the fruit of his studies in Rome, a monograph *Solovjev a církev* [Solovjev and the Church] (Olomouc 1935) are concerned mainly with theological questions; at the same time, they show a keen sense for comparative methods in the fields of the history of ideas as well as that of linguistics. In the years 1934 to 1938 Pořízka was employed as a regular teacher at the Theological Faculty in Olomouc; in 1937 he was awarded the degree of docent [Reader] in the field of fundamental theology (theologia fundamentalis).

This apparently smooth career in the field of theology was rather abruptly ended by Pořízka himself in 1938: he terminated his employment in Olomouc and began to study Indology at the Charles University in Prague. His interest in India acquired a more definite form already in 1932 when he started, under the guidance of prof. Vincenc Lesný, with his Sanskrit studies. His sojourn in Rome did not interrupt this new orientation, rather the contrary: Pořízka got into contact with Indians at the Instituto Pontifico and was able to make good use of its well equipped library. When his interest in Indian subjects became known, he was approached by the Church authorities and asked to engage in polemical writing against Indian religions. This he found increasinly onerous and incompatible with principles of a true scholarly research, an attitude more in tune with his analytical, inquisitive mind. A temporary compromise between these two mutually opposite reqiurements can be seen in his Latin articles on the alleged relationship between Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament written in 1937 and 1938: here the refutation of hypotheses postulating mutual influences between the two texts satisfied the demands of the Church and at the same time fulfilled the basic requirements of secular scholarship. In a much more expanded and elaborated form, this theme was presented to scholarly community in an extended article, *The Bhagavadgītā and the New Testament. Some Notes on the Presumed Parallelism*, published in ArOr in 1939 and accepted in 1946 as his doctoral dissertation. The degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Charles University, Prague, was conferred on Vincenc Pořízka in 1952.

Pořízka's indological studies were interrupted in 1939 when the Nazis closed all Czech institutions of higher learning in the so called Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren, and were resumed only in 1945. During the war he continued with his studies on his own, mastering basics of the Hindī language under the guidance of prof. Otakar Pertold and conducting, from 1942, public courses of this language at the Oriental Institute in Prague as external teacher. In 1945 he was admitted to the Seminar for the Comparative Science of Religion, led by prof. Pertold, first as a Demonstrator, from 1948 as an Assistant Lecturer and from 1951 as a Lector-specialist. In 1950 he was invited by prof. Lesný to teach the Grammar of Hindī at his Seminar of Indology. Here Pořízka developed his Hindī courses into full-fledged subject of Hindī studies: apart from original research in the field of Hindī grammar and syntax (represented by articles collected in this volume) he wrote a Grammar of Standard Hindī (*Mluvnice spisovné hindštiny*, 1951) and in a systematical and thorough manner, so characteristic of him, prepared his courses in the Historical Grammar of Hindī, History of Hindī and Urdū Literature, conducted seminars and practical exercises of this language as well as interpretation of texts. A number of students profited from his rigorous and exacting standards and became later prominent scholars in the field of Hindī studies (Marková, Miltner, Nespital, Smékal).

In 1955 Pořízka was appointed a Research Assistant at the Department of Philology and History of the Middle East and India (where the Seminar for Indology now belonged) - and this was the last of his promotions. In the same year Pořízka applied for the degree of Reader in Hindī at the Philosophical Faculty - he was the only applicant for this post - but, despite the backing of the Dean and majority of the Professors, he was never appointed. Curiously, neither was his application turned down. The Ministry of Education which had the last word in conferring the University degrees, did not even bother to send a negative reply. There is a formal request on the part of the University for a reply concerning this matter (a copy of which is extant in Pořízka's personal file), sent by the Faculty to the Ministry in 1959, again without an answer. In a virulently atheistic establishment, the past connection with the Church and the title of Doctor of Theology was in itself a serious handicap; in this context, his exactitude and uncompromising attitude toward all kinds of intellectual laxity could be interpreted as a rather aggravating factor. As a founder of Hindī studies, indispensable as a teacher of one of the most important modern Indian languages, he was to be just „tolerated". Apart from two very short visits of India in the second half of the 1950s Pořízka never went abroad for research or study.

In 1963 he published his major work, the bilingual textbook *Hindština - Hindī Language Course*, still appreciated as one of the best in the field, particularly for its treatment of difficult grammatical topics. As companion volume, Pořízka prepared a small Hindī-Czech-English Dictionary containing, as originally planned, about five thousand headwords. Frustrated by the author's perfectionism, however, and by his repeated corrections made in the final draft, the publisher at last decided to abandon the project. Pořízka then began to compile a much larger trilingual dictionary; this new lexicographical project was not to be a mere compilation of

material culled from other dictionaries but was to be based on an extensive excerption corpus of a wide variety of texts, the result of several decades' systematic work. This archive, stored in the form of carefully sorted excerption slips, gradually filled seventeen medium-sized suitcases and constitutes, to the present day, a unique material useful particularly for the study of Hindī verbs, postpositions and grammatical words. As is readily apparent from his articles, this excerption was also used for formulating his grammatical concepts and backing of his arguments (it was originally collected probably for this purpose); in the 1950s this was, at least in the Hindī studies, by no meas a standard and common procedure. The dictionary, in the form and size envisaged by its author, however, proved to be a task which was clearly beyond the powers of a single person. The extant typescript consisting of 665 pages indicates that he was able to get only as far as the letter kha.

In 1965 Pořízka was unceremoniously told by the University officials to retire and it was only after some embittered haggling (there was nobody at the moment to take over the courses) that he was given an extension which expired in 1967. Relieved of his teaching responsibilities, he was now able to concentrate fully on the main theme which had been occupying his attention for quite a long time: in five instalments written for the ArOr he developed his concept of the verbal aspects in Hindī and was able to support his statements with extensive evidence taken from his corpus. This he supplemented by a critical evaluation of the extant literature on the subject and a comparison with aspectual systems in the Baltic and Slavic languages. This major achievement was later followed by three other essays elaborating several points of this complex topic and pointing to the problems of interpretation of verbal aspect in Bengali. Second edition of his textbook, published in 1972, contains a Supplement which summarises for the student, in a compact and lucid form, his later findings.

Vincenc Pořízka spent the rest of his life in a largely self-imposed isolation from his academic colleagues - but keeping a lively correspondence with scholars in the West and in India - and working, as he was used to through all his life, until his death on 22nd August, 1982.

Jaroslav Strnad

I.

STUDIES IN THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

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BHAGAVADGĪTĀ EIUSQUE DOCTRINA DE BHAKTI

AD MARGINEM STATUS QUAESTIONIS[1]

Bhagavadgītā,[2] quae non solum ab Indis,[3] sed etiam in Europa a viris doctis habetur ex operibus profundissimis, quae ingenium humanum unquam genuit,[4] iure meritoque „summa theosophica“ et speculum fidele animi hindu apellatur,[5] cum sit quasi completa synthesis historica omnium motionum vitalium speculativae et religiosae cogitationis Indiae antiquae.[6] Etsi tamen illae eius doctrinae, quae cum metaphysica in Upanishadas proposita et cum darśanas Sāṃkhya, Yoga et Vedānta utcumque cohaerent, minime despiciendae sint, longe tamen plus omnibus excellit eius doctrina de devotione erga deum Bhagavat *(bhakti),* quae est quasi gravitatis centrum totius operis. Haec doctrina Bhagavadgītae characterem potius mysticum[7] quam philosophicum tribuit atque eius successum, quocum animos Indorum per plus quam viginti saecula ardore replebat hodieque replet, optime explicat.[8]

Vox bhaktiḥ derivatur a radice bhaj (dividere, seligere tamquam obiectum praedilectionis, adorare etc.[9]) et significat separatio, portio, reverentia, adoratio, servitudo etc.[10] Realem sensum vocis bhaktiḥ, prout in Bhagavadgītā occurrit, Lamotte definit[11] : amare et servire Deo per devotionem exclusivam et incessantem. In linguas modernas alii alio modo vocem bhaktiḥ vertunt: dévotion,[12] attachement,[13]

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[1] Textus sanscritici proferuntur ex editione Michalski-Iwieński, St. Fr., Bhagavadgītā. Texte sanscrit. Paris 1922. Interpunctiones vero omittimus, quippe quae in litteris sanscriticis non adhibeantur.

[2] Bhagavadgītā - Canticum sublimis (Domini) - amplectitur capita 25-42 sexti libri epopeae Mahābhāratam, cuius centrum est enarratio luctarum inter duos ramos eiusdem familiae: ex una parte stant filii Pāṇḍu, quorum dux est Arjuna, ex altera parte patruus eorum Dhṛtarāṣṭra cum Duryodhana et 99 eius fratribus. Instante pugna in campo Kuru Arjuna moerore affligitur, quod propinquos et amicos occidere debeat, animum amittit armaque reicit. Quo in discrimine auriga et propinquus eius Kṛṣṇa eum monet de opere perficiendo, revelat sese tamquam incarnatam animam universi et doctrinas tradit philosophico religiosas, ex quibus Bhagavadgītā constat.

[3] Gokhale D. V. B. A., Śrīmad Bhagavad-Gītā (with the Commentary of Śrī Śankarāchārya. Poona 1931. Preface.
Vadekar D. D. M. A., Bhagavad-Gītā. A fresh study. Poona 1928, pg. 4.

[4] Michalski IwieŅski St. Fr., Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922. pg. XI.

[5] Lamotte E.. Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 128.

[6] Vadekar D. D. M. A., Bhagavad-Gītā. A fresh study. Poona 1928, pg. 3.

[7] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. l59.

[8] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris l929, pg. 116.

[9] Hill W. D. P., M. A. The Bhagavadgītā. Translated from the sanskrit. London 1928, pg. 284.
Apte V. S., M. A., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1922, pg. 398 ss.

[10] Apte V. S., M. A., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1922, pg. 397.

[11] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 120.

[12] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936. Bhakti - dévotion mystique, pg. 8, 142, 149 etc.
Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 98, 107, 125, 167 etc.
Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 20, 101, 120 etc.

devotion,[14] loving devotion,[15] Liebe,[16] Verehrung,[17] Hingabe an Gott,[18] miłość,[19] toewijding[20] etc. In quo bhakti consistat, Kṛṣṇa ipse in Bhagavadgītā exponit: „Hunc mundum caducum, miserum ingressus mihi te devove *(bhajasva),* sensum tuum ad me converte, mihi trade teipsum *(madbhakto),* mihi sacrificia offeras, mihi honorem tribuas; ad me venies, si teipsum tali modo immersioni dicaveris et nihil nisi me prae oculis habueris.[21] Alibi Kṛṣṇa affirmat: „Sapientes vero, o fili Pṛthae, naturae divinae addicti, mihi dediti sunt *(bhajanti)* ad nihil aliud sensum vertentes, (cum) sciant me esse impereuntem originem (omnium), quae existunt. Incessanter me glorificant labori non parcentes, firmiter in votis stantes et me in devotione *(bhaktyā)* adorantes mihi serviunt semper animum immersioni (yogae) ditantes.[22]

Obiectum huius mysticae devotionis *(bhakti)* est Kṛṣṇa seu Bhagavat, deus personalis, quem Bhagavadgītā identificat cum brahman metaphysicae speculationis Upanishadas;[23] Kṛṣṇa est brahman incarnatum, brahman, quod in mundum descendit *(avatāra).*[24] Tamquam praemium devotionis bhakticae erga se Kṛṣṇa suis fidelibus amorem[25] suum promittit atque gratiam,[26] ut omnibus periculis superatis[27] ad supremum finem[28] venire possint; iis contigit ingredi brahman,[29] Bhagavat.[30] Haecce via salutis omnibus hominibus patet, cuiuscunque sint originis, castae vel sexus;[31] pessimus quisque peccator salvari potest, modo devotionem suam Bhagavat tribuat.[32]

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[13] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 100.

[14] Hill W. D. P., M. A., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, pg. 176, 179, 184 etc.

[15] Barnett L. D., M. A., Litt. D., Hindu Gods and Heroes. London 1922, pg. 80.

[16] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. Leipzig 1921, pg. 118, 122, 124, 141, 164 s.
Oldenberg H., Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus. Göttingen 1923, pg. 91, 242.

[17] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. ed. Leipzig 1921, pg. 120, 137.

[18] Schomerus H. W., Indische Erlösungslehren. Leipzig 1919, pg. 68.

[19] Michalski St. F., Bhagawad Gītā. Warszawa 1927, pg. 68, 70, 75, 78, 101 etc.

[20] Boissevain J. W., Bhagawad Gītā uit het sanskrit vertaald. Amsterdam 1919, pg. 16, 67, 68, 71, 73, 86, 91, 113, 115 etc.

[21] Bhagavadgītā IX, 33-34:
anityam asukhaṃ lokam imaṃ prāpya bhajasva mām
manmanā bhava madbhakto madyājī māṃ namaskuru
mām evaiṣyasi yuktvaivam ātmānaṃ matparāyaṇaḥ.

[22] Bhagavadgītā IX, 13-14:
mahātmānas tu māṃ Pārtha daivīṃ prakṛtim āśritāḥ
bhajanty ananyamanaso jñātvā bhūtādim avyayam
satataṃ kīrtayanto māṃ yatantaś ca dṛḍhavratāḥ
namasyantaś ca māṃ bhaktyā nityayuktā upāsate.

[23] Bhagavadgītā X, 12-13. Cf. Lamotte, Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 42.

[24] Hill W. D. P., M. A., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, pg. 25: It is noticeable, then, that while the identification of Krişna Vāsudeva with Viṣṇu had doubtless begun, he himself at no point in the Gītā (not even in the avatāra passage, where we should most have expected it) makes any definite claim to be Viṣṇu. His avatāra is a descent of Brahman. The point is important as suggesting an early date for the Gītā in the later history of the Vāsudeva sect.
Cf. etiam Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 158.

[25] Bhagavadgītā XII, 14: yo madbhaktaḥ sa me priyaḥ.

[26] Bhagavadgītā XVIII, 58, 62: prasāda. Bg XVIII, 58:
maccitaḥ sarvadurgāṇi matprasādāt tariṣyasi.

[27] Bhagavadgītā XIV, 26, XVIII, 58.

[28] Bhagavadgītā XVIII, 62.

[29] Bhagavadgītā XIV, 26.

[30] Bhagavadgītā IX, 34, XI, 54, XII, 8, XVIII, 55, 65.

[31] Bhagavadgītā IX, 32:

Bhakti non solam habitudinem hominis ad Bhagavat respicit, sed omnem activitatem hominis cum internam tum externam pervadit[33] ideoque etiam in relatione hominis ad seipsum et ad proximum partes praecipuas habet. Homo devotus sibi temperare debet et amorem fovere erga omne, quidquid vivit : „Qui nihil odit eorum, quae existunt, qui mitis est atque misericors, qui quaestus non est avidus neque seipsum quaerit, cui dolor et gaudium idem sunt, qui patiens est atque semper contentus et immersioni (yogae) deditus, qui seipsum subiugavit, firmus in suis resolutionibus, in me reponens sensum et intellectum, mihi deditus *(madbhaktaḥ)* - ille mihi carus est.[34] Tantum abest, ut talis homo cuidam violentiam inferat,[35] ut potius omnibus favens gaudio impletur prosperam condicionem videns omnium, quae existunt.[36]

Adumbrata doctrina de bhakti - valde summaria sane expositione - quaestio oritur, undenam Bhagavadgītā hasce ideas hauserit. Devotio nempe fervida erga Kṛṣṇa - deum personalem est doctrina, quae ante Bhagavadgītam nullibi in Indorum litteris expressa invenitur.[37] Expositio Bhagavadgītae est prima synthesis devotae spiritualitatis Indorum, litteris tradita:[38] hic prima forsan vice in historia culturae apud Indos auctoritative et eodem titulo ac solutiones in Upanishadas propositae doctrina recipitur et approbatur, quae devotionem religiosam exaltat.[39]

Ex vetustissimis litteris Indorum origo bhakti explicari nequit. Tali negativa solutione contentus esse videtur Lamotte, verba de la Vallée Poussin repetens: „Hae religiones bhakticae, alienae a brahmanismo proprie sumpto, alienae sunt etiam ab antiqua traditione arica, cuius custodes brahmani facti sunt . . Hae religiones quoad essentiam sunt pūjā, adorationes, duliae, hyperduliae, idololatriae ... Hae pūjā nihil habent vedici cum quoad spiritum tum quoad materiam. Sed etiamsi brahmanismum ignorent, illi tamen minime contradicunt; si a quolibet in praxim deduci possint, etiam ab iis, qui ritibus et institutionibus brahmanismi fideles remanserunt.“[40]

Viam ad problema positive solvendum sternere possunt ea, quae nuperrime Eliade scripsit: „Generatim non debemus oblivisci textus posteriores reproducere ideas et consuetudines multo antiquiores, sed in textibus primis rigorose vitatas.“[41] „Religio

---

māṃ hi Pārtha vyapāśritya ye 'pi syuḥ pāpayonayaḥ
striyo vaiśyās tathā śūdrās te 'pi yānti parāṃ gatim

[32] Bhagavadgītā IX, 30-31 :
api cet sudurācāro bhajate mām ananyabhāk
sādhur eva sa mantavyaḥ samyag vyavasito hi saḥ
kṣipraṃ bhavati dharmātmā śaśvac chāntiṃ nigacchati
Kaunteya pratijānīhi na me bhaktaḥ praṇaśyati.

[33] Bhagavadgītā IX, 27, XII, 6-7.

[34] Bhagavadgītā XII, 13-14:
adveṣṭā sarvabhūtānāṃ maitraḥ karuṇa eva ca
nirmamo nirahaṃkāraḥ samaduḥkhasukhaḥ kṣamī
saṃtuṣṭaḥ satataṃ yogī yatātmā dṛḍhaniścayaḥ
mayy arpitamanobuddhir yo madbhaktaḥ sa me priyaḥ.

[35] Ahimsā: Bhagavadgītā X, 5, XVII, 14.

[36] Bhagavadgītā V, 25: sarvabhūtahite ratāḥ.

[37] Si ideam upāsanā excipias, quae in Upanishadas invenitur, et vocem bhakti, quae in Śvetāśvatara Up. semel legitur. Vide Hill W. D. P., M. A., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, pg. 50.

[38] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 154.

[39] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 142.

[40] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 116.

[41] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 121.

indo-arica, quam arii expugnatores attulerant, non erat nisi una phasis - eaque minime praecipua - in creanda traditione religiosa Indorum ... Motiones subterraneae, quas experientia religiosa populorum non aricorum alebat, continuo castra religiositatis indo-aricae minitabantur. Sub apparente absorptione cultuum localium per brahmanismum processus inversus progreditur: tranformatio brahmanismi in religionem indicam, ideoque asiaticam. Autochthones supra advenas triumphum reportaverunt."[42]
„Cultus (pūjā) et mystica (bhakti) semper in India existebant, sed extra castra brahmanismi. Religio indo-arica, utpote frigida, iuridica, magica, nullum stimulum offerebat cultui et communionem hominem inter et deum non permittebat. Possibilitates mysticae brahmanismi, etiam si praesto essent, in aboriginarios populos vim attractivam nullo modo exercere possent; bene vero populi asiatici, qui superstitiones fertiles et animum possidebant, cui „concretum" in qualicumque sphaera experientiae indispensabile erat. Omnia, quae de aboriginariis populis Indiae scimus, eorum „tendentiam concretum versus" confirmant. Tantum abest, ut multitudo cultuum localium et personalium simplex sit figmentum abstractionis, ut potius argumentum sit authenticitatis et fertilitatis sentimenti religiosi horum populorum."[43]

Christianismi influxus in formanda notione bhakti ab auctoribus recentissimis reicitur,[44] sed non deneganda sublimitas doctrinae per Bhagavadgītam annuntiatae non semel ad fingendas analogias cum christianismo ducebat et hodie ducit. Maxima cum ferviditate quidam „mystici" nostris temporibus doctrinam Bhagavadgītae christianismo aequiperant, identificant, immo praeponunt,[45] placita vero eorum figmenta esse animi simplicis nemo est qui non videat. Sufficit tamen talis „mysticismus", ut mentes eorum, qui non sunt initiati, non parum perturbet. Inde negativa utilitas scrutandae religionis Indorum: quo melius doctrinae Indorum ex ipsorum sensu et principiis intelliguntur, eo apertius discrimen essentiale inter christianismum et hinduismum manifestatur et transitus ab altero ad alterum tamquam immensa *μετάβασις εἰς ἄλλο γένος* ostenditur. Hoc discrimen essentiale non soli christiani, sed ipsi Indi-hinduistae optime percipiunt, quod pluribus exemplis R. Otto illustrat.[46] Quapropter cum grano salis accipiendae sunt analogiae, quas ipsi catholici viri interdum proponunt, ut P. Johanns S. J. fecit adhibendo de tribus viis salutis, quae in Bhagavadgītā commendantur (karma-yoga, jñāna-yoga, bhakti-yoga) modum loquendi mysticae christianae : via purgativa, illuminativa, unitiva.[47] Si omittamus, quae Indi moderni nominibus karma-yoga, jñāna-yoga, bhakti-yoga tribuunt,[48] in

[42] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 297.

[43] Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 300.

[44] Garbe R., Die Bhagavadgītā. 2. ed. Leipzig 1921, pg. 6: „In der ursprünglichen aber ebenso auch in der überarbeiteten Gītā ist der christliche Einfluss für mich schon nach ihrem Alter ausgeschlossen, da die erste Bekanntschaft mit christlichen Lehren an der Nordwestgrenze Indiens nicht vor dem Anfang des 3. Jhdts. anzunehmen ist ... Mir ist in der Gītā kein Gedanke begegnet der sich nicht aus dem reichen Ideenschatze oder aus der eigentümlichen geistigen Anlage des indischen Volkes befriedigend erklären lisse." „Dafür, dass der Begriff der bhakti aus dem Christentum entlehnt sei, ist bisher auch nicht der Schatten eines Beweises beigebracht worden." Ibidem, pg 44.
Cf. Garbe R., Die Sāmkhya-Philosophie. Leipzig 1894, pg. 115.
Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, pg. 116.

[45] Weinfurter K., Bhagavad-Gītā. II. vyd. Praha 1935, str. 12.

[46] Otto R., Indiens Gnadenreligion und das Christentum. München 1930, pg. 44 ss.

[47] P. Johanes S. J., Vers le Christ par le Vedānta. II. Vallabha. Trad. par L. M. Gauthier. Louvain 1933, pg. 163.

[48] Swāmī Vivekānanda, Jñāna-Yoga. Trad. par J. Herbert. Paris 1936, pg.497 ss.

ipsa Bhagavadgītā hae notiones essentialiter differunt a laudatis viis mysticae christianae. Ut unum saltem notemus, jñāna-yoga, karma-yoga et bhakti-yoga vias salutis significant, singulatim efficaces nec exclusivas: Bhagavadgītā quinque vias salutis enumerat,[49] immo tolerantiae dogmaticae quasi omnes limites aufert proclamando ex ore dei Bhagavat: „Qui quocunque modo ad me accedunt, tali modo ego eis favorem praesto: meum tramitem homines sequuntur, quacunque via incedentes.“[50] Ad hocce effatum provocant Indi tolerantiam et „universalismum“ hinduismi extollentes.[51]

Quidquid sit, valorem retinent verba laudati R. Otto: „Ex utraque parte diversus spiritus fiat ... Hancce diversitatem confestim sentimus, etsi eam statim notionibus exprimere nequimus. Tale quid experimur, si e. gr. a Gītā ad nostros Psalmos vel Prophetas aut ad Evangelium vel Paulum revertimur.“[52] Haec diversitas non consistit in solo „spiritu“ utriusque religionis, sed in ipsa earum essentia. Qui unquam serium studim utrique impenderit, abyssum hiare inter arva Ganges et Terram Sanctam non negabit. Si super hanc abyssum via sterni debet, pons exstruendus est non tam ex positivis doctrinis hinduismi, quaro potius ex doctrinis christianismi, lacunas et aspirationes ingenii Indorum explentis. Tali sensu accipi potest sententia, quam operi suo laudatus P. Johanes S. J. praefixit - ad Christum per Vedānta.

Mitra K., M. A., Bhakti-dharmma o rādhābhāba. Māsik Basumatī, baišakh 1342 (April-May 1935) Calcutta 1935, pg. 94-99.

Canda R., Bhagavad-gītā o Baṅgālār prem-dharmma. Māsik Basumatī, āṣāḍh 1342 (June-July) Calcutta 1935, pg. 415-421.

[49] Bhagavadgītā IV, 44-46. Cf. Eliade M., Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 141 s.

[50] Bhagavadgītā IV, 11:

ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham
mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ.

[51] Caṭṭopādhyāy V. K., M. A., Hindu dharmmer kayekaṭi viśeṣatva. Māsik Basumatī, jyaiṣṭha 1340 (May-June) Calcutta 1933, pg. 189 ss.

Roy S. C., M. A., Raja Rammohun Roy's Religion. The Modern Review. Calcutta, January 1937, pg. 63.

[52] Otto R., Indiens Gnadenreligion und das Christentum. München 1930, pg. 47.

EXISTATNE CONNEXIO BHAGAVADGĪTAM INTER ET EVANGELIUM S. JOANNIS

Bhg iv, 35; vi, 30; viii, 22; ix, 29 - Ioa xiv, 20; (Act. xvii, 28).

Quaedam Bhagavadgītae doctrinae sua cum christianismo propinquitate animos primo visu percellunt. Inde facum est, ut Bhagavadgīta diletantismo saepius occasionem praebuit et praebet ad identitatem doctrinae cum Evangelio proclamandam; ex utraque parte eadem veritas ab eodem Dei Spiritu annuntiatur, ita iterum atque iterum affirmant.[1] Sed etiam viri doctissimi relationes inter Bhagavadgītam et Novum Testamentum admittentes theoriis diversissimis de utriusque connexione excogitandis operam navant. Quidam Bhagavadgītae prioritatem firmiter tenentes s. Joannem doctrinam ab Indis schola Alexandrina mediante hausisse autumant. Sic *van Eysinga* de interdum verbali concordantia Bhagavadgītae cum sententiis Novi Testamenti, imprimis s. Joannis, loquitur, cuius facti explicationem in theoria a *Tiele* proposita invenit; scripta s. Joannis ideis philosophicis referta sunt, quae ex Alexandria in Asiam Minorem transplatatae quidem sunt, attamen originem ex Extremo Oriente ducunt.[2] Etiam *Hopkins,* sententiam Lorinser, hodie a plurimis reiectam,[3] temperans, parallelas Bhagavadgītam inter et evangelium s. Joannis admittit, quarum originem ex fontibus ab invicem independentibus explicare non audet; prioritatem tamen s. Joanni adiudicat, etsi maxima cum haesitatione verbisque utens cautissimis.[4] Alii denique dependentiam Bhagavadgītae a Novo Testamento vel vice versa negantes parallelismum et convergentiam quandam inter evolutionem spiritus religiosi in Oriente et Occidente in genere[5] atque inter Bhagavadgītam et novum Testamentum in specie[6] vigere annuunt.

In variis hisce quaestionibus diiudicandis quot et quantae difficultates occurrunt, omnes, qui antiquissimis textibus Indorum critice perlustrandis incumbebant, bene

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[1] Chatterji M. M., The Bhagavad Gīta. 2. ed. Boston-New York 1888, pg. v - ix.
Weinfurter K,, Bhagavad-gīta, 2. ed. Praha 1935, pg. 12.
Weinfurter K., Čtyři knihy o následování Krista. Praha 1931, pg. 4.
Kamensky Anna, La Bhagavad-Gīta. Paris 1925, pg. 11.

[2] Van den Bergh van Eysinga A. G., Indische Einflüsse auf evangelische Erzählungen. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1909, pg, 21.

[3] Plurimi ex criticis theoriam a Lorinser propositam reiecerunt; Weber, E. Windisch, John Muir, Max Müller, Barth, C. P. Tiele, Winternitz, Telang, John M. Robertson, Garbe etc. Cfr. Garbe R., Bhagavad-gīta. 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1921, pag. 66-67. - Garbe R., Indien und der Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pag. 245-246.

[4] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. (Abbrev. ION.) NewYork-London 1902, pg. 155-159.

[5] Otto Rudolf, Vischnu-Nārāyana. Jena 1923, pg. 203-218: Das Gesetz der Parallelen in der Religionsgeschichte.

[6] Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 247-248.
Garbe R., Bhagavad-gīta. 2. Aufl., Leipzig 1921, pg, 103, n. 2.
Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pg. xiv, 29, 66, 67.

perspiciunt. Praesertim Bhagavadgītae authenticitas tantis dubiis atque aenigmatibus obruitur, ut Hopkins hancce quaestionem ex implicatissimis atque maxime perplexis problematibus in provincia historici criticismi litterarii considerat.[7] Iure etiam Telang affirmat: „Non est exaggeratio, si dicimus impossibile fere esse unicam saltem ponere propositionem in materia alicuius momenti cum Bhagavadgīta connexa, quae consensu inter doctos fulta dici posset.[8]

Quaestionibus de origine Bhagavadgītae alibi spatium tribeuntes in brevissimo hocce articulo aliquas tantum opiniones de tempore saltem porrigimus, cui origo Bhagavadgītae ascribi debet. Alii aliud tempus Bhagavadgītae toti vel singulis partibus eius integrantibus assignant. *Bhandarkar*[9] Bhagavadgītae originem ad initia IV. saec. a. Ch. n. reponit, *Telang*[10] ante saec. III. a. Ch. n., *Vadekar*[11] circa annum 250 a. Ch. n., *Lamotte*[12] saeculo III. a. Ch. n. vel intervallo a saec. III. ante usque ad saec. III. post. Ch. n.; *Barnett*[13] circa initium nostrae erae Bhagavadgītam ortam esse putat, *Farquhar*[14] Bhagavadgītam in forma hodierna e saec. I. vel II. p. Ch. n., *Keith*[15] e saec. II. p. Ch. n. provenire censet, etsi doctrinis eius maiorem vetustatem denegandam non habet, *Garbe*[16] Bhagavadgītam in forma originaria saeculo I. p. Ch. n. non esse iuniorem affirmat, vedantizantem vero redactionem eius in saec. II. p. Ch. n. ponit.

Difficultates, quae criticae litterariae in diiudicandis problematibus cum Bhagavadgīta connexis occurrunt, optime ostendunt, quam labili fundamento constructiones atque theoriae innituntur, quae pontem a Bhagavadgīta ad Novum Testamentum ponendum moliuntur. Et praeter chronologiae incertitudinem etiam ipsae Bhagavadgītae et Novi Testamenti doctrinae, si profundius inspiciuntur, theoriis de mutuo influxu adversantur. In brevissima nostra expositione unum saltem exemplum falsi parallelismi, quem Hopkins, Deussen, Garbe Bhagavadgītam inter et evangelium s. Joannis conspiciunt, crisi subicimus.

Hopkins[17] iuxta se ponit: Vox in me et ego in vobis, Joa xiv, 20 (etiam vi, 56 et xvii, 20-23); In ipso enim vivimus et movemur et sumus, Act xvii, 28 (Phainomena); In eo omnes creaturae sunt, omnia per eum penetrantur, Bhg viii, 22; Si quidam adorant me in devotione, in me sunt et ego in eis, Bhg ix, 29.[18] Etiam *Deussen*[19]

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[7] Hopkins E. W., (recensio:) Die Bhagavad-gīta übersetzt von R. Garbe. JRAS, 1905, 384.

[8] Telang K. T., The Bhagavad-Gīta. 2. edit. (SBE, viii.) Oxford 1908, pag. 1-2.

[9] Bhandarkar R. H. Sir, Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism and minor religious systems. (Bühlers Grundriss, iii. 6.) Strasburg 1913, pg. 13.

[10] Telang K. T., The Bhagavad-gīta. SBE viii. 2. ed. Oxford 1908, pg. 34.

[11] Vadekar D. D., Bhagavad-Gīta. Poona 1928, pg. 5.

[12] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavad-gīta. Paris 1929, pg. 1 et 15.

[13] Barnett L. D., Bhagavad-Gīta. London 1936, pg. 62.

[14] Farquhar J. N., An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. Oxford 1920, pg. 86.

[15] Keith A. B., The Sāṃkhya-System. 2. ed., Calcutta-London 1924, pg. 36.

[16] Garbe R., Bhagavad-gīta. 2. ed., Leipzig 1921, pg. 72-74.

[17] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, pg. 156: Ye in me and I in you, John xiv, 20 (so vi. 56 and xvii. 20-23); In him we live and move and have our being, Acts xvii, 28 (Phainomena); In him are all creatures, all is pervaded by him, G. 8, 22; If any worship me in loving devotion, they are in me and I in them, G. 9, 29.

[18] In textibus respectivi loci Bhg. et Joa. leguntur:

Ioa. XIV, 20:	Bhg. viii, 22:
ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἐγὼ	puruṣah sa paraḥ Pārtha bhaktyā labhyas tv ananyayā
ἐν τῷ πατρί μου καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν.	yasyāntaḥsthāni bhūtāni yena sarvam idaṃ tatam
Act. XVII, 28:	Bhg ix, 29b:
ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν.	ye bhajanti tu māṃ bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpy aham

versum Bhg ix, 29 cum Joa xiv, 20 comparandum ducit; *Garbe*[20] locis cum Joa xiv, 20 parallelis versus Bhg iv, 35; vi, 30 superaddit. Neque tamen Deussen neque Garbe ex hoc „parallelismo" ullas conclusiones eruere audent.

Jesus per verba: „Vos in me et ego in vobis" (Joa xiv, 20) idem exprimit, quod aliis verbis antea protulit: „Ego sum via et veritas et vita: nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me" (Joa xiv, 6). Idem etiam paulisper inferius repetit: „Ego sum vitis, vos palmites: qui manet in me, et ego in eo: hic fert fructum multum, quia sine me nihil potestis facere." (Joa xv, 5) Omnibus hisce Jesu Christi sententiis idem sensus inhaeret: Jesus est unicum salutis medium, cui intime - prout palmes viti - iungi debet, quicunque salvus fieri desiderat.[21] Quantumvis realis sit haecce Jesu Christi cum suis fidelibus unio,[22] nullo tamen modo de pantheistica Dei cum creaturis identificatione agitur: Deus in anima hominis fidelis et secundum fidem viventis tamquam obiectum supernaturalis cognitionis et dilectionis praesens est,[23] prout versus proxime sequentes ostendunt: „In illo die vos cognoscetis, quia ego sum in Patre meo et vos in me et ego in vobis. Qui habet mandata mea et servat ea, ille est, qui diligit me. Qui autem diligit me, diligetur a Patre meo et ego diligam eum et manifestabo ei meipsum". (Joa xiv, 20-21.) „Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit et Pater meus diliget eum et ad eum veniemus et mansionem apud eum faciemus." (Joa xiv, 23.)

Neque ulla pantheismi vestigia in Act xvii, 16 inveniuntur, adquem locum etiam Hopkins provocat. S. Paulus verba faciens ad Athenienses, apud quos idololatriam et simulacra invenit (Act xvii, 16), immo etiam aram vidit, Ignoto Deo constructam (Act xvii, 23), affirmat non esse difficile unicum verum Deum invenire, quippe qui „non longe sit ab unoquoque nostrum" (Act xvii, 27). „In ipso enim", dicit s. Paulus, „vivimus et movemur et sumus: sicut et quidam vestrorum poetarum dixerunt: Ipsius enim et genus sumus." (Act xvii, 28). Verba ex poeta Arato (Phaenomena 5) desumpta et per copulam *ὡς* introducta nullum dubium relinquunt de sensu, quo antecedens *ἐν αὐτῷ* intelligendum sit: e manibus Dei processi in seipsis Dei imaginem portamus, e natura nostra proinde, ex intellectu nempe et voluntate, notionem Dei summe intelligentis, liberi et potentis,[24] notionem dico longe perfectiorem ea, quam idololatrae possident, nobis efformare possumus et debemus: „Genus ergo cum simus Dei, non debemus aestimare auro aut argento aut lapidi, sculpturae artis et cogitationis hominis Divinum esse simile." (Act xvii 29.)

S. Paulus de omnipraesentia Dei tamquam creatoris et conservatoris *(ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν)*, tamquam omnipotentis Domini, a quo qualiscumque vitae manifestatio *(κινούμεθα)* omneque esse in genere *(ἐσμέν)* dependet, loquitur, quin qualicumque verbo pantheismo vel immenentiae Dei in mundo faveat. E contra transcendentia Dei per verba s. Pauli iteratim inculcatur: Deus infinito modo excellit super omnem

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[19] Deussen P., Der Gesang d. Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pg. xiv et 66.

[20] Garbe R., Bhagavad-gīta. 2. ed. Leipzig 1921, pg. 103 nota 2.
Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg, 248 nota 1. Meschler M., S. J., Das Leben u. H. Jesu Chr. 12-13. Aufl., Freiburg i. B. 1921, tomus II., pg. 275-276.

[21] Meschler M., S. J., Das Leben u. H. Jesu Chr. 12-13. Aufl., Freiburg i. B. 1921, tomus II., pg. 275-276.

[22] De eadem idea agitur, quae exprimitur in Act. ix, 4-5; Rom,xii, 4-5; I Cor. xii, 12-31; Eph. I, 22-23; II, 19-22; iv, 1-16; v, 22-23; Col. I. 17-20; ii, 19.

[23] Per praesentiam obiectivam, prout theologia loquitur. Cf. Hontheim J., Theodicea. Freiburg i. B. 1926, pg. 210-211.
Van Noort G., De gratia Christi. ed. 3. Bussum in Holl. 1920, pg. 133-134.

[24] Cf. Knabenbauer J., S. J., Commentarius in Actus Ap. Parisiis 1899, pg. 306-307.

mundum in genere (xvii, 24-25) et super omnia simulacra in specie (xvii, 29), cum creator et Dominus sit totius mundi et omnis vitae (xvii, 24-25) et universi generis humani (xvii 26, 28), Dominator, qui poenitentiam praecipit (xvii, 30) et qui statuto die orbem terrarum in aequitate iudicaturus est (xvii, 31).

Nullius pantheismi vel immanentiae vestigia etiam in reliquis duobus locis s. Joannis iveniuntur, quorum Hopkins etiam mentionem facit (Joa vi, 56; xvii, 20-23). E contra versibus Bhagavadgītae, quos Hopkins, Deussen, Garbe s. Joanni parallelos esse putant, monismi et immanentiae ideae subsunt. Hopkins primo loco versum Bhg viii, 22 ponit: „Per pietatem, quae ad nullum alium deflectitur, supremus ille spiritus (puruṣa) obtineri potest, in cuius corde omnia entia habitant, quo omnia pervaduntur."[25] Creaturae in corde[26] dei[27] habitant et vice versa deus in corde creaturarum remanet,[28] quia deus et mundus universus invicem quam intime penetrantur.[29] Non solus versus Bhg viii, 22, sed etiam contextus monismum et immanentiam supponit. Prout elucescente die res apparent, nanciscentes formas distinctas ideoque existentiam pro oculis et obruente nocte tum formas distinctas tum existentiam pro oculis perdunt, simili modo in processibus, qui in cosmo fiunt, initio unius periodi (kalpa) omnia ex ente indeterminato (avyaktam, viii, 18) seu ex materia initiali (prakṛti, ix, 7, 8) per evolutionem seu emanationem (sarga, sṛṣṭi) procedunt et in fine periodi cosmicae iterum in statum indeteminationis recedunt (viii, 18) seu per materiam initialem (prakṛti, ix, 7) reabsorbuntur. Talis processus necessario fit et iteratur (viii, 19; ix, 8).

Ens indeterminatum[30] (avyaktam, viii, 18, 20) seu materia initialis[31] (prakṛti, ix,7, 8), cuius evolutione fiunt omnia (viii, 19; ix, 7), ipsa natura dei Bhagavat est (prakṛti māmikā, ix, 7): Bhagavat mysterioso actu (avaṣṭabhya, ix, 8, cf. adhiṣṭhāya, iv, 6) naturam suam foecundat et emanationem omnium creaturarum producit (sarvabhūtāni visṛjāmi, ix, 7, 8). Deus Bhagavat tamquam materia initialis (aparā prakṛti, vii, 5) est substratum physicum universi mundi, qui eius manifestatio (vibhūti, x, 7, 16, 18, 19, 40), evolutio (vistāra, x, 18, 19) et emanatio (sṛṣṭi; visṛjāmi, ix, 7, 8) est; tamquam principium spirituale omnium entium (parā prakṛti, jīvabhūta, vii, 5) deus Bhagavat super omnia, quae in mundo fiunt, elevatur, nullas partes in mundi operibus habens (ix, 9), simulque vero omnibus praesens est tamquam testis, cuius visum nihil fugit (ix, 10), quia supremus spiritus est (puruṣaḥ paraḥ, viii, 22), qui omnia replet atque penetrat (viii, 22): ipse est indeterminatio, quae omnibus disparentibus indestructibilis et aeterna remanet (viii, 20-21).

Ab immanentismo et monismo neque secundus locus, quem Hopkins adducit, immunis dici potest, etsi a quibusdam interpretibus Bhagavadgītae verbis sensus theisticus supponitur.[32] Totus versus audit: „Idem sum erga omnes creaturas, nemo

[25] Bhg. viii, 22:
puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ Pārtha bhaktyā labhyas tv ananyayā
yasyāntaḥsthāni bhūtāni yena sarvam idaṃ tatam

[26] Bhg. viii, 22: yasyāntaḥsthāni bhūtāni. Cf. Bhg. vi, 30; ix, 6.

[27] Bhg. viii, 22: puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ. Cf. Kṛṣṇa, Bhg. vi, 30; ix, 4, 6.

[28] Bhg. vi, 30, 31; vii, 7; x, 16; xv, 13, 17.

[29] Bhg. viii, 22: yena sarvam idaṃ tatam. Cf. Bhg. ii, 17; vii, 7; ix, 4; xviii, 46.

[30] Senart E., La Bhagavadgīta. Paris 1922, pg. 99-100, Bhg. viii, 18, 20 vocem avyaktam reddit: indetermination. Similiter etiam Lamotte interdum loquitur: Notes sur la Bhg., Paris 1929, pg. 49.

[31] Tali modo Lamotte terminum prakṛti vertit (Notes sur la Bhg., Paris 1929, pg. 56).

[32] Telang K. T., Bhagavadgīta. 2. ed. Oxford 1908, pg. 85, nota 3: „They dwell in me by their devotion to me; I dwell in them as giver of happiness to them." Cf. praeterea, quae infra de interpretatione a R. Otto proposita exponuntur.

est, quem odio prosequerer, nemo mihi carus; qui vero pietate repleti me adorant, in me sunt et ego in iis," Bhg ix, 29.[33] *L. D. Barnett*[34] iure hunc versum in connexione cum Bhg v, 19 ponit: prout in v, 19 brahma, ita in ix, 29 Vāsudeva asseritur indifferenter sese gerere erga omnes creaturas. Etiam terminus, quo Bhagavadgīta ad exprimendam indifferentiam utitur, idem est: sama.[35] Ad intelligendum vero sensum verborum „in me sunt et ego in iis" (Bhg ix, 29) optime alii loci iuvant, quos Garbe iuxta ponit.[36] Legimus nempe in Bhg iv, 35: „In perturbationem non recides, o Pāṇḍava, cognitione munitus, cuius ope omnes creaturas sine exceptione in te ipso, dein in me videris." [37] Alibi Bhagavat iterum explicat: „Qui me ubique et universa in me perspicit, isti ego non pereo neque ille mihi perit. Ille, qui me adorat tamquam praesentem in omnibus creaturis et qui ideo unicitatem (omnium) profitetur, talis yogi in me habitat, qualiscumque sit via eius vitae." Bhg vi, 30-31.[38]

Unioni Bhagavat cum anima ei devota Rudolf Otto[39] sensum stricte theisticum tribuere conatur: etiam tunc, quando Bhagavadgīta terminis vedantisticis utitur et theopanismum profiteri videtur, de sola unione mystica Creatorem inter et creaturam agitur, quae in amoris exstasi perficitur. Quando sentimentum gradum exstaseos attingit, anima Deum amans sese in suo Deo obliviscitur, unionem cum Eo experitur et hancce experientiam apte per terminos et ideas ex mystica impersonalis advaita desumptas exprimere potest atque revera exprimit. Hanc mysticam pietatem erga Deum personalem, quam a mystica impersonalis advaita distinguendam curat, Rudolf Otto advaita-bhakti apellat. Ideas in versibus Bhg vi, 27-32 contentas Rudolf Otto „in sensu prorsus personali conceptam mysticam" vocat, eandem mysticam personalem, quae in Īśa Upaniṣad et in Viṣṇu-purāṇa invenitur.[40] Verba et sensus versus Bhg vi, 30 re vera sententiam in Īśa Upaniṣad 6, expressam in memoriam revocant: „Qui vero omnes creaturas in seipso conspicit et in omnibus creaturis seipsum, perturbationem animi nescit."[41] Attamen Eliade, qui et ipse in Īśa Upaniṣad et in Bhagavadgīta vi, 30-31 idem motivum perspicit, ideam in locis istis expressam

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[33] Bhg. ix, 29:

samo 'haṃ sarvabhūteṣu na me dveṣyo 'sti na priyaḥ
ye bhajanti tu māṃ bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpy aham

[34] Barnett L. D., Bhagavad-gīta. London 1936, pg. 67, nota l.

[35] Bhg. v, 19 b: nirdoṣaṃ hi samaṃ brahma.
Bhg, ix, 29 a: samo 'ham sarvabhūteṣu.

[36] Garbe R., Bhagavad-gīta. 2. ed. Leipzig 1921, pg. 103, nota 2: Bhg. iv, 35 vgl. Ev. Joannis xiv, 20. Diese überraschende Parallele etc. vgl. noch Bhg. vi, 30; ix, 29.

[37] Bhg. iv, 35:

yaj jñātvā na punar moham evaṃ yāsyasi Pāṇḍava
yena bhūtāny aśeṣeṇa drakṣyasy ātmany atho mayi

[38] Bhg. vi. 30-31:

yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra sarvaṃ ca mayi paśyati
tasyāhaṃ na praṇaśyāmi sa ca me na praṇaśyati
sarvabhūtasthitaṃ yo māṃ bhajaty ekatvam āsthitaḥ
sarvathā vartamāno 'pi sa yogī mayi vartate

[39] Otto Rudolf, Die Urgestalt der Bhagavad-gīta. Tübingen 1934, pg. 30-32. Otto Rudolf, Die Lehrtraktate der Bhg. Tübingen 1935, pg. 33.
Otto Rudolf, Vischnu-Nārāyana, Jena 1923, pg. 53-55.

[40] Otto Rud., Die Lehrtraktate der Bhg. Tübingen 1935, pg. 33.

[41] Īśāvāsyopaniṣad, 6:

yas tu sarvāṇi bhūtāny ātmany evānupaśyati
sarvabhūteṣu cātmānaṃ tato na vijugupsate

modo a R. Otto prorsus diverso interpretatur: „Kṛṣṇa, deus personalis et mysticae experientiae fons, cum brahma metaphysicae speculationis in Upaniṣadas propositae identificatur. Cuius speculationis conclusiones, identitas essentialis ātman-brahman, accipiuntur et inter mysticos obiectum fiunt personalis experientiae; unio animae humanae cum anima cosmica, quae per Kṛṣṇa personificatur, possibilis est, quia ambae eandem essentiam possident. Sed anima humana per ignorantiam limitata, per appetitus egoisticos obnubilata, per dogmata seducta est. Bhagavadgīta methodos commendat, per quas harmonia et unio finalis inter ambas animas restaurari possunt. Et yoga est ex viis et remediis reconciliationis et unionis istius per experientiam realizandae.“[42]

Sed ad sensum verborum Bhagavadgītae eruendum non est opus ad Īśa Upaniṣad recurrendi: vocibus sensus proprius est reliquendus, qui optime Rudolphum Otto accusat eum non ideas Bhagavadgītae, sed conceptiones proprias terminis eius supposuisse. Versus Bhg. vi, 27 illum extollit, qui identitatem cum brahma adeptus est (brahmabhūta); in vi, 28 infinita beatitudo in unione cum brahma esse affirmatur; versus proxime sequentes salutem[43] illi promittunt, qui capax est, qui identitatem sui ipsius cum universo mundo[44] et mundi cum deo Bhagavat[45] perspiciat: talis yogi unicitatem omnium profitetur (ekatvam āsthitaḥ, vi, 31 a), ubique et omnia illi unum idemque sunt (sarvatra samaṃ paśyati, vi, 32 a).

Quae omnia ostendunt quantum abest, ut parallelismus Bhagavadgītam inter et Novum Testamentum admittatur. Actus Ap., omnipraesentiam Dei Creatoris, Gubernatoris et Domini omnium asseverantes (Act xvii, 24-30) etiam transcendentiam eius super omnia mundana infinite excelsi expresse verbisque iteratis inculcant. In Bhagavadgīta vero deus est principium mundo immanens,[46] quoad essentiam identificatum cum creaturis, quae ex eo per emanationem processerunt.[47] Et unio dei Bhagavat cum anima devota in pia exstasi fervidissimae dilectionis in Bhagavadgīta verbis depingitur, quae monismum non vitant, sed supponunt. Quanto distat ab hisce placitis doctrina Christi, qui eos, quos Pater ei dedit (Joa xvii, 6) sibi iungit tamquam vitis palmites, ut eis vitam supernaturalem influat, quin personam suam cum personis eorum confundat!

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[42] Eliade Mircea, Yoga. Paris 1936, pg. 158.

[43] Bhg. vi, 30: na praṇaśyati.
Bhg, vi, 31: mayi vartate.

[44] Bhg. vi, 29 a):
sarvabhūtastham ātmānaṃ sarvabhūtāni cātmani.

[45] Bhg. vi, 30 a) :
yo māṃ paśyati sarvatra sarvaṃ ca mayi paśyati.
Bhg, vi. 31 a):
sarvabhūtasthitaṃ yo māṃ bhajaty ekatvam āsthitaḥ.

[46] Bhg. viii, 22. Cf. praeterea iv, 35; vi, 30-31; vii, 7; ix, 6; x, 16; xv, 13, 17.

[47] Bhg. ix, 7, 8: sarvabhūtāni ... visṛjāmi.

DE CONCEPTU GRATIAE IN BHAGAVADGĪTĀ ET IN NOVO TESTAMENTO

(bhakti, prasāda - ἀγάπη, χάρις)

Quam inanes conatus fuerunt tum diletantismi, de identitate doctrinae in Bhagavadgītā et in Novo Testamento propositae somniantis, tum virorum doctorum casus „parallelismi" acervatim enumerantium, sobrietas optime ostendit, quacum in recentiori indologia de quaestione disputatur. Cum *Lorinser*[1] identitatem doctrinae utrimque fere in uno quoque passu detegi opinatus sit et adhuc *Hopkins*[2] frequentissimos casus „parallelismi" collexerit, *Deussen*[3] nonnisi in tribus locis propinquitatem doctrinae in mentem revocat et *Garbe*[4] de solis duabus ideis loquitur, quae Bhagavadgītam Novo Testamento propinquam faciunt, de ideis nempe bhakti et prasāda.

Bhakti - emotionalis expressio devotionis erga Deum personalem,[5] Bhagavadgītae centrum est et poemati characterem mysticum tribuit. Sensus etymologicus bhakti[6] est separatio, partitio, sortitio, portio, sors, electio et amor obiecti electi, praedilectio, devotio, reverentia, adoratio, servitudo etc. Sensum realem vocis, prout in Bhagavadgītā obvenit, *Bhandarkar*[7] simpliciter tradit: „amor Dei"; *Garbe*[8] fusius dicit: fide et fiducia plena Dei dilectio; *Lamotte*[9] adhuc pressius definit : amare et servire Deo per devotionem exclusivam atque incessantem. In linguas modernas bhakti saepissime vertitur „devotio": dévotion,[10] attachement,[11] devotion,[12] loving devotion,[13] Hingabe

[1] Lorinser F., Die Bhagavad-gītā übersetzt u. erläutert. Breslau 1869. Plurimi ex criticis sententiam eius reiecerunt: Weber, E. Windisch, John Muir, Max Muller, Barth, C. P. Tiele, Winternitz, Telang, John M. Robertson; Cfr. Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā, 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 66-67. - Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 245-246.

[2] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg. 148-159.

[3] Deussen P., Der Gesang d. Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pag. xiv, 29, 66, 67.

[4] Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pag. 244.

[5] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris I922, pag. 32.
Otto Rud,, Die Urgestalt der Bhg., Tübingen 1934, pg. 30.

[6] Radix bhaj - dividere, sortiri, partiri, impertiri, particeps fieri, accipere, eligere tamquam obiectum praedilectionis, adorare etc.
Apte V. S., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1922, pag. 397, 398.

[7] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler's Grundriss, iii, 6), Strassburg 1913, pag, 28.

[8] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Auflage Leipzig 1921, pag. 63. Similiter Otto Rud., Die Urgestalt der Bhg., Tübingen 1934, pag. 30.

[9] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhg. Paris 1929, pag. 120.

[10] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 98, 107, 125, 167, 169 etc.
Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhg., Paris 1929, pg. 20, 101, 120 etc.

[11] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 100.

[12] Barnett L. D., Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, pg. 123, 125, 128, 129, 130, 143, 148.
Hill W. D., Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, pg. 176, 179, 184, 187, 188, 215, etc.

an Gott,[14] toewijding[15]; interpretes saepe etiam vocem „dilectio“ adhibent: Liebe,[16] milość[17]; interdum translatio „reverentia“ (Verehrung[18]) occurrit.

Extra Bhagavadgītam vox bhakti in sensu „devotio erga Deum“ nonnisi in *Śvetāśvatara Up.* vi, 23[19] obviam fit: „Qui summam devotionem erga deum alit, vel cum erga deum tum erga magistrum, illi magno spiritui relucescunt doctrinae hic propositae, sane, illi magno spiritui relucescunt.“ *Hopkins*[20] vocem bhakti in hoc contextu in sensu „devotio erga deitatem timendam“ concipit; econtra *Bhandarkar,*[21] *Hill,*[22] *Garbe,*[23] *Oldenberg*[24] terminum bhakti in *Śvet. Up.* vi, 23 eodem modo ac in Bhagavadgītā interpretantur: „amor, devotio erga Deum“. *Deussen*[25] vocem bhakti in *Śvet. Up.* vi, 23 vertit „fides“ (wer zuhöchst an Gott gläubig), dum in Bhagavadgītā passim interpretatione „reverentia“ (Verehrung) utitur.

Ex sententia *Garbe*[26] etiam *Pāṇini* testis est vocem bhakti, quae communiter in sensu „amor, devotio, adhaesio“ adhibebatur (Pāṇini iv, 3, 95, 96), in sphaeram religionis introductam esse. Pāṇini iv, 3, 98 termino hoc in relatione ad Vāsudevam utitur, quod Garbe argumentum habet termino nostro sensum „dilectio dei“ suppositum esse. Modus, quo Patañjali hunc locum Pāṇini interpretatur (Mahābhāṣya: athavā nai 'ṣā kṣatriyākhyā saṃjñai 'ṣā tatra-bhagavataḥ), ex opinione Garbe[27] testimonium praebet terminum bhakti saeculo II, ante Christum natum immo iam antehac in sensu „dilectio dei“ Indis prorsus familiarem fuisse. Quam sententiam Garbe[28] in Bhagavadgītā confirmatam invenit, cum opus hoc de bhakti tamquam de re notissima loquatur: tali modo ideae novae non traduntur. Doctrina bhakti inter Kṛṣṇae devotos saecula ante ortum originalis Bhagavadgītae certe diffusa erat.

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[13] Barnett L. D., Hindu Gods and Heroes. London 1922, pg. 80.

[14] Schomerus H. W., Indische Erlösungslehren, Leipzig 1919, pg. 68.

[15] Boissevain J. W., Bhagawad-Gītā uit het sanskrit vertaald. Amsterdam 1919, pg. 16, 67, 68, 71, 73, 86, 91, 113, 115 etc.

[16] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 118, 122, 124, 141, 164, 165.
Oldenberg H., Die Lehre d. Upanishaden u. d. Anfänge des Buddhismus. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1923, pg. 91, 242.
Otto Rudolf, Der Sang der Hehr-Erhabenen. Stuttgart 1935, pg. 62, 64, 104 etc.

[17] Michalski St. F., Bhagawad-Gītā. 3. wyd. Warszawa 1927, pg. 68, 70, 75, 78 etc.

[18] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heilgen. Leipzig 1911, pg. 57, 59, 64, 66, 85, 91, 122, 124 etc.
Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 120, 137.

[19] Švet. Up., vi, 23:

yasya deve parā bhaktir yathā deve tathā gurau,
tasyaite kathitā hy arthāḥ prakāśante mahātmanaḥ
prakāśante mahātmana iti.

[20] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg. 148.

[21] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. Strassburg 19l3, pg. 29.

[22] Hill W. D. P., Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, pg. 50 (devotion).

[23] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 40.
Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 252.

[24] Oldenberg H., Die Lehre der Upanishaden u. d. Anfänge des Buddhismus. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1923, pg. 242.

[25] Deussen P., Sechzig Upanishads, 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 310.
Deussen P., Der Gesang d. Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pg. 57, 59, 64, 66, 85, 91 etc.

[26] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 44-45.
Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 251.
Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler´s Grundriss, iii, 6), Strassburg 1913, pg. 29.

[27] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 34-35, 45.

[28] Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 252.

Quoad rem sane bhakti tamquam amor Dei ab antiquissimis temporibus in India existebat, etsi aliis formis externis vestita. *Bhandarkar*[29] ostendit vocem bhakti eandem ideam complecti ac in libris upaniṣadas per voces priya, preyas[30] exprimitur; etiam meditatio - upāsanā - de qua upaniṣadas loquuntur, eundem fervorem in cordibus fidelium certe excitabat, quem Bhagavadgītā per bhakti promovebat.[31] Notari etiam potest a *Deussen*[32] tum in Bhagavadgītā vocem *bhakti* tum in Chāndogya et Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Up. verbum *upās-* eodem modo verti : Verehrung, verehren; ab *Oldenberg*[33] etiam nomen upaniṣad per „Verehrung“ transfertur.

Fervens sentimentum devotionis erga Deum etiam ex hymnis Ṛgvedae refulget, ubi ardor pii auctoris interdum sententiis monotheismo propinquissimis effertur. Si poeta exclamat: „Dyaus est pater meus“ (ṚV i, 164, 35),[34] si Aditim vocat matrem suam, patrem et filium (ṚV i, 89, 10),[35] certe cor eius simili devotione erga Deum aestuabat ac illius, in cuius anima Bhagavadgītā per motiva suae bhakti amorem Dei inflammabat.

Iure ideo *Bhandarkar,*[36] *Garbe,*[37] *Senart*[38] vetustissima vestigia pietatis religiosae, cuius expressio in Bhagavadgītā bhakti est, usque in tempora hymnorum Ṛgvedae prosequuntur. Et cum, prout *Barth*[39] affirmat, etiam Osiris, Adonis, Cybele obiectum fervidissimae devotionis fuerint, haec omnia testimonium praebent sentimentum religiosum esse toti generi humano commune.

Notio cum bhakti correlativa est prasāda: qui erga Deum per bhakti devotionem exercet, illi Deus favorem suum per prasāda praebet. Etymologice vox prasāda[40] sedationem significat, ideoque excitationis suppressionem et exinde mentis tranquillitatem, claram et favorabilem dispositionem, dein favorem in genere et in specie donum ex favore tributum, nempe gratiam.[41] Prasāda in primigenio sensu „sedatio“ in Maitrī Up. vi, 20, 34 et in Bhagavadgītā ii, 64, 65; xvii, 16; xviii, 37 adhibetur. Sensum „claritas“ voci prasāda tribuunt Śvetāśvatara Up. ii, 13

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[29] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. Strassburg 1913, pg. 29.

[30] Cfr.: Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Up. i, 4, 8: tad etat preyaḥ putrāt preyo vittāt preyo 'nyasmāt sarvasmāt antarataraṃ yad ayam ātmā ... ātmānam eva priyam upāsīta. Sa ya ātmānam eva priyam upāste na ha asya priyaṃ pramāyukaṃ bhavati.

Hoc filio caxius, fortuna carius, omni alia re carius, interius, hoc, quod est hic ātman ... (Suum) ātmanem revereatur (homo). Qui ātmanem tamquam dilectum reveretur, illi homini dilectionis suse obiectum nunquam disparet.

[31] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler's Grundriss, iii, 6), Strassburg 1913, pg. 28.

[32] Deussen P., Der Gesang d. Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pg. 57, 59, 64, 66, 85, 91, 121, 124 etc. Etiam vocem „upāsana“ (Bhg. xiii, 7) vertit per Verehrung (pg. 91).

Deussen P., Sechzig Upanishads, 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 68, 148-151, 395, 397, 457 etc.

[33] Oldenberg H., Die Lehre der Up. u. d. Anfänge des Buddhismus. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1923, pg. 134-138, 301 nota 101. - etābhir upaniṣadbhiḥ (Bṛh. Ār. Up. iv, 2, 1) Oldenberg vertit: mit diesen Verehrungen (upanishad). Op. cit., pg. 137.

[34] Ṛk i, 164, 33: dyaur me pitā janitā

[35] Ṛk i, 89, 10: Aditir mātā sapitā saputraḥ

[36] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. Strassburg l913, pg. 28.

[37] Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, pg. 250.

[38] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 35.

[39] Barth A., The Religions of India. Translated by J. Wood. 6th ed. London 1932, pg. 221.

[40] Radix sad - sedere, assidere, accumbere. Verbum prasad - singnificat esse in quiete, esse tranquillus et contentus, favere etc.
Apte V. S., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1922, pg. 580-581.

[41] Apte V. S., Sanskrit-English Dictionary. Bombay 1922, pg. 371.
Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg. 147.

(varṇaprasāda claritas coloris, aspectus), Muṇḍaka Up. iii, 8 (jñānaprasādaḥ tranquilla, ideo clara cognitio), Īśvara Gītā[42] xi, 2 (prasannaṃ jāyate jñānam clara cognitio gignitur). Connexio inter sensus tranquillitas-claritas, dicit *Masson-Oursel*,[43] in eo consistit, quod commotae mentis sedatio claram cognitionem possibilem reddit: hac de causa Yoga-sūtrāṇi ad absolutum intuendum citta-vṛtti-nirodha requirunt, hac etiam de causa notissima illa in systemate sāṃkhya adhibita comparatio dicit naturam (prakṛti) sicuti superficiem tranquilli aequoris in quiete esse debere, ut puruša in ea tamquam in speculo resplendescere possit.

In Bhagavadgītā verbum prasad- in sensu tranquillari, quietus esse occurrit (ii, 65, xviii, 54) et nomen prasāda pacem, tranquillitatem, claritatem mentis exprimit (ii, 64, 65; xvii, 16; xviii, 37).[44] In capite vero xviii vox prasāda sensum acquirit „gratia“ (xviii, 56, 58, 62, 73, 75) et in cap. xi etiam verbum prasad- similem characterem prae se fert: favorem, gratiam praebere.[45]

Illi homini, qui in deo Bhagavat refugium quaerit, gratia promittitur aeternae sedis assequendae (xviii, 56);[46] qui in deum Bhagavat mentem convertit, cum gratia eius omnia pericula superabit (xviii, 58).[47] Dominus in corde omnium rerum residet: „Ad hoc refugium cum tota essentia tua confuge“, Kṛṣṇa Arjunam exhortatur, „cum gratia eius quietem summam et sedem aeternam assequeris“ (xviii 62).[48] Dialogo finito Arjuna Kṛṣṇae gratias agit se recepisse gratiam erroris superandi (xviii, 73)[49] et Saṃjaya in fine Bhagavadgītae gratiae Vyasae asscribit se audisse secretum sublimissimum (xviii, 75).[50]

Etiam alibi in Bhagavadgītā Kṛṣṇa munere dei gratiam largientis fungitur: amicus totius creaturae appellatur (v, 29), ab Arjuna pater vocatur totius mundi tum moventis tum immobilis (xi, 43); illum, qui „cognitionem“ possidet (jñānī), Kṛṣṇa suum dilectum nominat (vii, 13) et in cap. xii qualitates eorum enumerat, qui mundo vale dixerunt et deo Bhagavat dediti sunt: illi sunt dilecti dei Bhagavat, *sa me priyaḥ* in fine versuum tamquam echo amoris dei Bhagavat resonat. Hos electos Bhagavat e lege karmica eximit et ex catenis iteratarum existentiarum liberat (xii, 7). Etiam Arjuna est praedilectus dei Bhagavat: hac de causa ei sublimissimum ver-

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[42] Īśvara-gītā. Texte sanscrit et trad. par P. E. Dumont. Baltimore-Paris 1933, pg. 134.

[43] Masson-Oursel P., Die Gnadenlehre im religiösen Denken Indiens. Eranos-Jahrbuch 1936. Zürich 1937, pg. 130.

[44] Vide versiones: Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 91, 156, 162, 164.
Deussen P., Der Gesang der Heiligen. Leipzig 191l, pg. 19, 111, 120, 122.
Barnett L. D., Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, pg. 95, 163, 170, 172.
Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, pg. 58, 156, 165, 167.

[45] Garbe R., Bhg. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 133, 135s, 164s, 166 (Gnade).
Deussen P., Der Gesang der Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, pg. 79, 80, 83, 122, 123, 125 (Gnade).
Barnett L. D., Bhg. London 1936, pg. 139, 142, 172, 173, 174 (Grace).
Senart E., Bhg. Paris 1922, pg. 120, 121, 123, 168, 170 (faveur).

[46] Bhg xviii, 56:
sarvakarmāṇy api sadā kurvāṇo madvyapāśrayaḥ
matprasādād avāpnoti śāśvataṃ padam avyayam.

[47] Bhg xviii, 58: maccittaḥ sarvadurgāṇi matprasādāt tariṣyasi.

[48] Bhg xviii, 62:
tam eva śaraṇaṃ gaccha sarvabhāvena Bhārata
tatprasādāt parāṃ śāntiṃ sthānaṃ prāpsyasi śāśvatam.

[49] Bhg xviii, 73a: naṣṭo mohaḥ smṛtir labdhā tvatprasādān mayācyuta.

[50] Bhg xviii, 75a: Vyāsaprasādāc chrutavān etad guhyam ahaṃ param

bum nuntiatur de mediis salutis (xviii, 64-65) et liberatio ab omnibus peccatis promittitur (xviii, 66). Nemo denique deo Bhagavat tam carus est quam ille, qui nuntius fit salutaris verbi eius (xviii, 69).

Extra Bhagavadgītam terminus prasāda in sensu „gratia“ in Kāṭhaka Up. i, 2, 20 et Śvetāśvatara Up. iii, 20 occurrit, ubi cognitio Domini (Īśa; Śvet. Up. iii, 20) et ātmanis (Kāṭh. Up. i, 2, 20) tamquam fructus gratiae divinae consideratur.[51] Sub fine Śvet. Up. (vi, 2l)[52] auctor operis confitetur se per virtutem asceseos et per gratiam divinam cognitionem brahmanis obtinuisse.

Doctrina de gratia, qua ātman eligit, quemcumque vult, etiam in Kāṭh. Up. ii, 23 (qui est simul Muṇḍ. Up. iii, 2, 3)[53] profertur, terminus vero prasāda ibi non invenitur.

Bhandarkar[54] vestigia doctrinae de gratia divina etiam in Kauṣītakī Up. iii, 8[55] conspicit, ubi affirmatur per ātmanem duci homines ad recte vel male agendum, et in Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Up. iii, 7,[56] ubi sermo fit de inspectione, quam ātman in cordibus creaturarum exercet: inde Bhandarkar deducit dependentiam agnitam esse animae individualis a spiritu supremo, qui gratia sua ad salutem eos ducit, quos ipse elegerat.

Distantissimas quasque mentiones favoris divini erga homines premens Bhandarkar[57] in quaerendis vestigiis doctrinae de gratia in antiquissima tempora procedere potest: notio correlativa amoris, quocum poeta Ṛgvedae de Deo tamquam Patre loquitur (ṚV i, 164, 33; i, 89, 10) non fuit nisi amor Dei erga hominem, amor, qui per favorem et gratiam manifestus fit. Etiam intima relatio inter Supremum et animam humanam, affectioni comparata, quacum duae aves ad invicem adhaerent (ṚV i, 164, 20; Muṇḍ. Up. vii, l, 1) fundamentum habet in eodem sentimento, quod per bhakti exprimitur, et in eodem favore divino, qui per prasāda comprobatur.

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[51] Kāṭh. Up. i, 2, 20b qui est simul Śvet. Up. iii, 20b:

tam akratuṃ paśyati vītaśoko dhātu-prasādān mahimānam īśam (Kāṭh.: ātmanaḥ).

Ille, qui solutus est a moerore, conspicit eum, desiderii nescium, per gratiam divinam, tamquam Dominum, tamquam Magnitudinem.

Manuscripta in praebendo textu differunt: vel dhātu-prasādāt vel dhātuḥ prasādāt. Deussen duplicem sententiam distinguit: theologicam (akratum, dhātuḥ prasādāt, īśam; Taitt. Ār. 10, 10, 1 et Śvet. iii, 20) et philosophicam (akratuḥ dhātu-prasādāt, ātmanas; Kāṭh. Up. ii, 20). Vide Deussen P., Sechzig Upanishads, 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, pg. 274.

[52] Śvet. Up. vi, 21: tapaḥ prabhāvād devaprasādāc ca brahma ha Śvetāśvataro 'tha vidvān.

[53] Kāṭh. Up. ii. 23, qui est simul Muṇḍ. iii, 2, 3:

nāyam ātmā pravacanena labhyo na medhayā na bahunā śrutena;
yam evaiṣa vṛṇute tena labhyas tasyaiṣa ātmā vivṛṇute tanūṃ svām.

Neque per eruditionem, neque per intelligentiam, neque per (scripturarum) scientiam obtineri potest hicce ātman; ab illo, quem ipse eligit, obtineri potest; tali (homini) ātman suum aspectum manifestat.

[54] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. Strassburg 1913, pg. 29.

[55] Kauṣītakī-brāhmaṇa Up. iii, 8: eṣa hy evainam sādhu karma kārayati taṃ yam anvānuneṣaty evainam asādhu karma kārayati taṃ yam ebhyo lokebhyo nunutsate.

Hic est, qui bonum opus ab isto perfici sinit, quem elevare vult, hic etiam est, qui malum opus ab illo perfici sinit, quem ex hisce mundis deorsum ducere vult.

[56] Bṛhad-āraṇyaka Up. iii, 7, 15: yaḥ sarveṣu tiṣṭhan sarvebhyo bhūtebhyo 'ntaraḥ yaṃ sarvāṇi bhūtāni na viduḥ yasya sarvāṇi bhūtāni śarīraṃ yaḥ sarvāṇi bhūtāny antaro yamayati sa ta ātmā antaryāmy amṛtaḥ.

Qui in omnibus creaturis habitat, ab omnibus creaturis vero diversus remanet, quem omnes creaturae ignorant, cuius corpus sunt omnes creaturae, qui omnes creaturas intus regit, hic est tuus átmán, internus dux, immortalis.

[57] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler's Grundriss, iii, 6). Strassburg 1913, pg. 28.

Hopkins[58] alium adhuc locum e Ṛgveda[59] depromit, ubi divinizata Oratio (vāc)[60] proclamat: „Quem diligo, potentem, brāhmaṇem, ṛṣim, sapientem efficio". Generalis idea gratiae divinae, connotat Hopkins,[61] tam vetus est, quam fides deorum, qui favorem homini praestare possunt.

Sane sola generalis idea gratiae divinae, sicuti etiam generalis idea amoris Dei. Termini technici bhakti et prasāda tum demum formantur, cum notiones istae quoad id, quod complectuntur, stricte determinantur. Kṛṣṇismus notionem bhakti desumptam ex buddhismo, ubi devotam dilectionem Magistro praestitam designabat, relationi ad proprium deum Kṛṣṇam applicuit.[62] Notio vero prasāda, quae initio tranquillitatem, faventem dispositionem non Dei erga homines, sed ipsius mentis humanae significabat, in Bhagavadgītā et in upaniṣadibus posterioris aetatis characterem termini technici „gratia divina" assumit.[63]

Bhakti et prasāda ex Indiae solo originem ducunt. Si antiqui et antiquissimi textus Indorum parum spatii religioso sentimento relinquunt, nulla re exinde sequitur sentimentum hoc in cordibus populi antiquitus nihil vel non multum valuisse. Modesta vestigia illius, quod textus posteriores in notiones bhakti et prasāda induerunt, solummodo testimonium praebent, quam pedetentim et quam invito animo religio officialis sensui populari terram cedebat, sensui dico, qui contra siccum formalismum brahmanisticum et contra frigidas speculationes upaniṣadum in religionem plus ferventis devotionis, filialis ad Deum amoris introducere cupiebat. Voces bhakti et prasāda nihil aliud nempe nisi hanc calidiorem relationem Deum inter et hominem exprimunt.

Tali luce *Eliade*[64] vetustissima vestigia yogae, cultuum et mysticae (bhakti) illustrat. Factum, quod bhakti et prasāda tam sero in Indorum litteratura partes acquirunt, non testatur illud, quod ideis istis subest et inest, esse fructum posterioris aetatis. Vice versa. Factum, quod tam tarde in sacram litteraturam indoaricam introductae erant, indirecte earum vetustatem et originem antearicam probat. Ideae istae sub terra et extra castra societatis indoaricae victitabant. Per traditionem oralem saeculis conservatae tum demum in religionem officialem admissae sunt, cum resistentia orthodoxiae aricae relaxari coepit (Eliade, op, cit., 5-6).

De praehistoria bhakti Eliade[65] censet: Religio indoarica, quam arii expugnatores attulerant, non erat nisi una phasis, eaque minime praecipua, in formanda traditione religiosa Indorum. Verisimillimum est „reformatores" et parivrājakas, qui Mahavirae et Buddhae antecedebant, repraesentantes fuisse vitae religiosae populi autochthoni,

[58] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg. 147 nota l.

[59] ṚV X, 125, 5: yaṃ kāmaye taṃ tam ugraṃ kṛṇomi taṃ brahmāṇaṃ tam ṛṣiṃ taṃ sumedhām.

[60] De connexione cum doctrina de Logo nullus sermo esse potest. Cfr. Hopkins, India Old and New, pg. 147 nota 1 : „... the part played by speech („Word" as it is often freely rendered) in Indian theosophy has been greatly exaggerated throughout. Vāc, Speech, at no time represents Logos. She is simply a deified abstraction, like Sarasvati, Eloquence. In the Vedic hymn just alluded to, moreover, Vāc is nothing more than the personified power of the priest's utterance; and when the priest sings, „I, Speech, make powerful whom I love, he expresses simply the oft-repeated idea that the prayer of the priest, his eloquence with the gods, makes the gods well-disposed to the priest' s employer (the king), and the moral is the usual one that the king must treat well a priest whose speech is so productive of good (or bad, according as the priest will).

[61] Hopkins E. Washburn, India Old and New. New York-London 1902, pg. 147 nota l.

[62] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg, 149.

[63] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. N. York-London 1902, pg. 147.

[64] Eliade Mircea, Yoga. Paris-Bucarest 1936, pg. 5-6, 1l-12, 276-301.

[65] Eliade Mircea, Yoga. Paris-Bucarest 1936, pg. 297.

qui usque ad illud tempus a castris religiositatis indoaricae severissime arcebatur. Motiones subterraneae, quae experientia religiosa populorum non-aricorum alebantur, continuo haec castra minitabantur. Sub apparente absorptione cultuum localium per brahmanismum processus inversus progreditur: transformatio brahmanismi in religionem indicam, ideoque asiaticam. Autochthones supra advenas triumphum reportaverunt. Geographia historiam vicit.

Cultus (pūjā) et mystica (bhakti) semper in India existebant, sed extra castra brahmanismi. Religio indoarica, utpote frigida, iuridica, magica, nullum stimulum offerebat cultui et communionem hominem inter et Deum non permittebat. Possibilitates mysticae brahmanismi, etiam si praesto fuissent, in aboriginarios populos vim attractivam nullo modo exercere potuissent. Hi nempe populi aboriginarii fuerunt gentes asiaticae, quae superstitiones fertiles et animum possidebant, cui „concretum“ in qualicumque sphaera experientiae indispensabile erat. Omnia, quae de aboriginariis populis Indiae scimus, eorum „tendentiam concretum versus“ confirmant. Tantum abest, ut multitudo cultuum localium et personalium simplex sit figmentum abstractionis, ut potius argumentum praebeat authenticitatis et fertilitatis sentimenti religiosi horum populorum [Eliade, Yoga, pg, 300].

Bhakti et prasāda sunt tamen ideae indicae non solummodo ratione originis, sed etiam quoad id, quod complectuntur. Religiosus animus Indorum terminis technicis bhakti et prasāda characterem impressit, qui mentalitati Indorum maxime correspondet, notam scilicet monismi et immanentiae. Salus in genere nullo modo tamquam negotium novi, supernaturalis ordinis in India concipitur. Salus est fructus ordinis naturalis, est ipse ordo naturalis - cribratus igne salutaris cognitionis (jñāna), disciplinae (yoga) et devotionis (bhakti), igne nempe, quo omne lutum ignorantiae, cupiditatis et praeiudicii deflagratum est. Istis vinculis liberatus, homo harmoniam sui „ātman“ cum ātmane cosmico assequitur, stricte loquendo realizat, restituit: unicitatem omnium, quae in principio iam adfuerat, obiectum facit suae experientiae.

Quali munere in salute hominis perficienda Bhagavat fungitur? Bhagavat de tempore in tempus in esse conditionatum descendit, ut ordinem restituat (dharmasaṃsthāpanārthāya Bg iv, 8), ut bonos defendat (paritrāṇāya sādhūnām iv, 8), ideo ut hominibus manum auxiliatricem ad fulciendum ordinem iamdudum constitutum porrigat, non ut novum, supernaturalem ordinem fundat. Bhagavatis gratia (prasāda) obstacula et pericula, quae salutem hominis praepediunt, superanda iuvat (xviii, 58). Tres principales vias salutis Bhagavat commendat: viam cognitionis (jñāna), viam disciplinae (yoga), viam devotionis (bhakti). Qualemcumque ex hisce viis homo realizare mavelit, semper salutem acquirere valet. Unicitas omnium rerum cum absoluto aeque per salutarem cognitionem (iv, 35) ac per disciplinam (vi, 29) vel per devotionem (yo bhajati vi, 31) obiectum personalis experientiae fieri potest. Qui salutarem cognitionem acquisierat, omnia in absoluto conspicit (iv, 35) eodem modo ac yogin, cui absolutum in omnibus rebus et omnia in absoluto adsunt (vi, 30); similiter etiam ille, qui deum Bhagavat per devotionem honorat (yo bhajati), in absoluto vivit (mayi vartate vi, 31), Bhagavat in eo et ipse in Bhagavat adest (ix, 29). Hac de causa ille, qui viam devotionis eligit (bhajati), vocatur ekabhaktiḥ (vii, 17), sarvabhūtasthitaṃ bhajaty ekatvam āsthitaḥ (vi, 31): est discipulus illius, qui unum et omnia simul est (cfr. etiam sarvaḥ xi, 40).

Bhakti maximo quoque peccatori salutem certam facere par est: sufficit, ut rectam intentionem concipiat (samyag vyavasitaḥ ix, 30), ut mentem ad Bhagavat convertat

(manmanaḥ ix, 34; māṃ vyapāśritya ix, 32): eo ipso suum „ātman“ in harmonia cum ordine sisti (bhavati dharmātmā ix, 31), in Bhagavat unum et omnia simul conspicit (ekatvam āsthitaḥ, vi, 31; ekabhaktiḥ vii, 17) et ad supremam metam pergit (ix, 32, 34): „Qui unicitatem (omnium rerum) profitens mihi tamquam illi, qui in omni creatura inhabitat, deditus est, talis yogin in me remanet, qualiscumque sit via eius vitae“ (vi, 31).[66] Actus bhakti realizatus est, efficacia eius nullo impedimento retardatur et ideo plene manifestari potest: homo amore repletus (bhaktyā yuktaḥ viii, 10) necessario in obiectum amoris sui transit (viii, 5 - 10). Bhakti realizata nullo concursu positivo tum ex patre hominis (sarvathā vartamānaḥ vi, 31) tum ex parte dei Bhagavat indiget: actus humani et gratiosum auxilium dei Bhagavat (prasāda) partes integrantes ipsius bhakti non constituunt; eorum munus in dispositionibus ad bhakti necessariis praeparandis atque retinendis consistit.

Gratia (prasāda) dei Bhagavat nullum est donum in novum, supernaturalem ordinem elevans neque physice necessarium supernaturale auxilium ad agendum in ordine supernaturali, sed iuvamen ad viam salutis realizandam. Restat quaerendum, sitne hoc iuvamen ex mente Indi necessarium saltem moraliter. *Masson-Oursel*[67] talem persuasionem Indis denegat: asceta hinduus e propriis humanis facultatibus vires vitales dominat et naturae vincula superat. Indorum menti nihil tam connaturale existit quam immanentia absoluti in relativo: gratia est ipsa natura, dummodo homo errorem vitat relativum cum absoluto confundendi.

Immanentismum esse fundamentum viarum salutis apud Indos per evolutionem ipsius termini technici prasāda Masson-Oursel[68] comprobatum videt: terminus prasāda, qui deinceps sensum gratiae cognitionis vel salutaris auxilii accepit, initio virium humanarum certam contentionem designabat, sui dominationem nempe, ad superandos animi et passionum motus necessariam. Tranquillitas et claritas mentis, effectus huius virium exantlationis, tamquam fructus mere humani laboris considerabantur. Demum secundario eis character tributus est divini auxilii, quod homo a diis impetrare debet.

Prasāda in sensu gratiae divinae nunquam tamquam donum Dei gratuitum concipiebatur; exculta ascesis hominis sapientis apud bhaktas - et quidem apud bhaktas solos - dei auxilium eadem certitudine ac necessitate accire debet ac ritus brahmanicus, qui manum devarum fere ad nutum hominis movendam dirigit. Favor dei, prout per prasāda manifestus fit, tam parum voluntarius interventus quam supernaturalis influxus vel miraculum est. Nemo hinduorum unquam protulit: „Credo quia absurdum“, sicuti nemo unquam hinduorum praedestinationem electorum profitebatur. Ipsorum „reformatorum“ interventum Indi in legem naturae mutaverunt: „descensiones“ suorum deorum vel buddharum avataras fecerunt, in phases evolutionis cosmicae necessario insertos.

Medio sane aevo systemata theistica inter hinduos exstiterunt, quae theismo Iudaeorum, Christianorum, Mahumetanorum propinqua erant. Tunc, et quidem solummodo tunc duae conceptiones gratiae formantur: prolis, quae ipsa ad matrem

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[66] Bhg. vi, 31:

sarvabhūtasthitaṃ yo māṃ bhajaty ekatvam āsthitaḥ
sarvathā vartamāno 'pi sa yogī mayi vartate.

[67] Masson-Oursel P., Die Gnadenlehre im religiösen Denken Indiens. Eranos Jahrbuch 1936. Zürich, pg. 129-130.

[68] Masson-Oursel P., op. cit., pg. 131-133.

refugit (argumentum a simia), et prolis, quae a matre prehenditur et aufertur (argumentum a fele[69]). Hae conceptiones sunt theoriae tardioris temporis et partim per influxum christianismi et mahumetanismi explicari possunt. In quantum vero India proprio suo ideali fidelis remansit, nimis saluti in sensu immanentiae conceptae addicta erat, quam ut diis supernaturalem influxum in ordinem naturae asscriberet.[70]

Tali modo concipiendis viis salutis e diametro opponitur doctrina christiana. Christus Dominus mundo novum ordinem affert, ad quem homo renasci debet ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto (Joa iii, 5) et in quo homo nihil sine gratia Christi valet (Joa xv, 5): „Nisi quis renatus fuerit ex aqua et Spiritu Sancto, non potest introire in regnum Dei“ (Joa iii, 5). Sed „Spiritus ubi vult spirat“ (*τὸ πνεῦμα ὅπου θέλει πνεῖ* Joa iii, 8) et „Filius, quos vult, vivificat“ (Joa v, 21). Nova igitur vita, quam Christus homini affert, a gratia Dei totaliter dependet tum in principio (Joa iii, 8; v, 21), tum in quacumque sua manifestatione: „Sine me nihil potestis facere“ (Joa xv, 5), dicit Jesus apostolis et in mentem eis revocat: „Non vos me elegistis, sed ego elegi vos“ (Joa xv, 16).

Etiam caritas Dei est gratia Dei: *ἀγάπη* est virtus infusa, virtus dico, cuius causa perfective efficiens est Deus, Spiritus sanctus: „Caritas Dei (*ἡ ἀγάπη τοῦ θεοῦ*) diffusa est in cordibus nostris per Spiritum sanctum, qui datus est nobis“ (Rom v, 5). Caritas est virtus, qua homo amicus Dei, immo domus Dei fit: „Si quis diligit me, sermonem meum servabit, et Pater meus diliget eum, et ad eum veniemus, et mansionem apud eum faciemus“ (Joa xiv, 23). „Qui manet in caritate (*ἐν τῃ ἀγάπῃ*) in Deo manet, et Deus in eo“ (I Joa iv, 16). „Caritas (*ἡ ἀγάπη*) ex Deo est. Et omnis, qui diligit, ex Deo natus est, et cognoscit Deum“ (I Joa iv, 7). Et plus adhuc caritas ex homine efficit: „Videte“, dicit s. Joannes, „qualem caritatem dedit nobis Pater (*ποταπὴν ἀγάπην δέδωκεν*) ut filii Dei nominemur et simus ... Carissimi, nunc filii Dei sumus, et nondum apparuit, quid erimus. Scimus, quoniam, cum apparuerit, similes ei erimus: quoniam videbimus eum, sicuti est“ (I Joa iii, 1-2).

Caritas donum Dei est; Deus electis Spiritum caritatis (*πνεῦμα ἀγάπης* II Tim i, 7) et dignitatem filiorum Dei tribuit: Dedit eis potestatem filios Dei fieri, his, qui credunt in nomine eius: qui non ex sanguinibus, neque ex voluntate carnis, neque ex voluntate viri, sed ex Deo nati sunt“ (Joa i, 12 - 13).

Gratia (*χάρις*) per quam homo e Spiritu sancto renascitur (Joa iii, 8) est donum supernaturale, quod Deus, cuicumque vult, tribuit: „Quod natum est ex carne, caro est, et quod natum est ex spiritu, spiritus est. Non mireris, quia dixi tibi: Oportet vos nasci denuo. Spiritus, ubi vult, spirat, et vocem eius audis, sed nescis, unde veniat, aut quo vadat: sic est omnis, qui natus est ex spiritu“ (Joa iii, 6-8). Homo gratiam per opera sua promereri nequit: „Si autem gratia (*χάριτι*), iam non ex operibus; alioquin gratia iam non est gratia“ (*χάρις* Rom xi, 6). Deus libere gratiam distribuit, „cuius vult miseretur, et quem vult, indurat“ (Rom ix, 18).

Gratia, donum Dei gratuitum, indebitum, supernaturale, etiam effectus producit supernaturales: „Omnis, qui natus est ex Deo, peccatum non facit quoniam semen ipsius (*σπέρμα αὐτοῦ*) in eo manet“ (I Joa iii, 9). In quo consistat hoc „semen Dei“ (*σπέρμα αὐτοῦ*) s. Petrus explicat: „Maxima et pretiosa nobis promissa donavit, ut per haec efficiamini divinae consortes naturae (*θείας κοινωνοὶ φύσεως* II Petri i, 4).

[69] Cfr. Hopkins E. W., The Religions of India. Boston-London 1895, pg. 500-501. Vel Barth A., The Religions of India. Trans. by J. Wood. 6. ed. London 1932, pg. 227.

[70] Masson-Oursel P., Die Gnadenlehre im religiösen Denken Indiens. Eranos Jahrbuch 1936. Zürich 1937, pg. 132-133.

Unum adhuc discrimen inter bhakti, resp. prasāda, et *ἀγάπη*, *χάρις* in mentem revocare iuvat. Prasāda est auxilium - ceteroquin non necessarium - ad bhakti realizandam, qua vero realizata salus deinceps nec a gratia (prasāda) nec a positiva cooperatione humana dependet (Bhg vi, 31; cfr. xiii, 23; vide supra). Caritas (*ἀγάπη*) vero, de qua Christus loquitur, per vitam, i.e. per observationem praeceptorum a Jesu impositorum manifestatur. In aliquot versibus (Joa xiv, 15-24) Christus quater sententiam repetit: „Si diligitis me, mandata mea servate“ (Joa xiv, 15) et statim apostolis mandat: „Manete in me, et ego in vobis“ (Joa xv, 4). „Si quis in me non manserit, mittetur foras sicut palmes, et arescet, et colligent eum, et in ignem mittent, et ardet“ (Joa xv, 6). „Manete in dilectione mea. Si praecepta mea servaveritis, manebitis in dilectione mea“ (Joa xv, 9-10).

Caritas, quae per vitam in Jesu manifestatur, est unicum et exclusivum medium salutis: palmes, qui in vite non manserit, arescet (Joa xv, 1-6). Econtra Bhagavadgītā illimitatam libertatem in eligendis mediis salutis relinquit: „Qui quocumque modo ad me accedunt, tali modo ego eis favorem praesto: meum tramitem homines sequuntur, quacumque via incedentes“ (Bhg iv, 11).[71] Bhagavadgītam libertatem in eligendis mediis salutis prae oculis habere illi loci confirmant, ubi adhuc apertius loquitur (Bhg vii, 21-22; ix, 23-25). Bhagavadgītā quidem affirmat, omnes cultus revera ad unum et eundem deum, Bhagavat nempe, etiamsi non aeque immediate (vii, 21-22 ; ix, 24), referri. Sed per hoc non exprimitur, qualemcumque cultum per accidens fieri posse medium salutis illi homini, qui bona sit fide; Bhagavadgītae idea potius dicit inter singulos cultus non esse discrimen nisi solius gradus.

’A*γάπη* et *χάρις* prout in Novo Testamento annuntiantur, in Bhagavadgītā ignorantur. Bhakti et prasāda nimis in immanentismo haerent, quam ut hinduo donum dei supernaturale designent. Etiamsi externa forma, vestimentum, quo Bhagavadgītā et Novum Testamentum ideas suas induunt, interdum oculo imperitorum discrimen Orientem inter et Occidentem abstergere videantur, corda tamen, quae sub indumento pulsant, vitam totaliter diversam vivunt.

[71] Bhg. iv, 11:

ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham
mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ AND THE NEW TESTAMENT

SOME NOTES ON THE PRESUMED PARALLELISM

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As long as we are without any reliable historical information concerning the author of the Bhagavadgītā and the time at which it was composed, the internal evidence remains the only guide to point out the connexions of the Gītā with any non-Indian work. The lack of historical evidence makes it impossible for literary criticism to arrive at any intransigent solution of the question. Even such a strenuous advocate of the native origin of the doctrine dealt with in the Bhagavadgītā, as Rudolf Garbe,[1] does not venture to deny the historical possibility of Christian influence. On the other hand, E. W. Hopkins,[2] however, supporting the arguments for the dependence of the Gita upon Christianism, did not prove the impossibility of the natural evolution of its ideas from Indian soil.

Hopkins speaks about „a number of parallels, some of which are surprisingly close" (ION 155), „too close in thought as in diction to have sprung from two independent sources" (ION 157), and, taking into consideration the very doubtful age of all old Hindu texts and the early influence of Christian missions, he is inclined to admit Christian influence on the Bhagavadgita. Starting from the same point, viz. from the „some times literal conformity of the sayings of the Bhagavadgītā with the thoughts of the New Testament, particularly with those of St. Johannes", van den Bergh van Eysinga[3] is induced to uphold the opposite theory proposed by C. P. Tiele, namely, that the origin of the philosophy which is treated by St. Johannes and which was transplanted from Alexandria to Asia Minor, is to be sought in the Far East. The fact, however, is that the conclusions both of Hopkins and of van Eysinga are far from being an exact solution of the problem: they are rather an attempt to escape the helplessness which is reflected in the uncertainty of Hopkins' words: his opinion is designated as „seeming possible" (ION 158). There is no historical evidence of the dependence of the New Testament on the Gītā or vice versa, and the conformity of the phraseology is no definite proof of plagiarism, the less so, the more the interpretation of the texts is liable to personal impressions. No wonder, therefore, that the way of speaking about the problem in modern indology is very moderate. While

[1] Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 249-250.

[2] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, p. 147-149. Abbrev. ION.

[3] Van den Bergh van Eysinga G. A., Indische Einflüsse auf Evangelische Erzählungen. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1909, p. 21.

Lorinser[4] saw the identity of the doctrine in the Gītā and in the Gospel on nearly every page and Hopkins[5] admitted the resemblance in a considerable number of cases, Deussen[6] does not quote more than three passages of the New Testament as parallel to the Bhagavadgītā; and according to Garbe,[7] the parallelism is represented by two ideas only, viz. by bhakti and prasāda as parallel to Christian *ἀγάπη* and *χάρις*. But even such a restricted parallelism has its basis in the fact of a similar phraseology only, a criterion which by no means implies the internal propinquity of the doctrine dealt with in the texts.

In the last half century, E. W. Hopkins was the principal scholar who deemed the Bhagavadgītā dependent on the New Testament and enumerated a large number of cases to illustrate the parallelism of the texts. He juxtaposes: „All things were made by him" John I, 3; „All things have their source in me. It is by me that the universe is created and destroyed" Bhg VII, 6[8] (ION 155).

Hopkins' translation of Bhg VII, 6 is not precise. The text of the Gītā runs: „Learn that of these twain are all beings born; of the whole universe am I the origin and dissolution too".[9] The pronoun „these" refers to the two natures of Bhagavat which are described in the preceding verses (VII, 4-6) : the lower nature *(aparā prakṛti)* is the substratum from which all phases of conditioned beings, both physic and psychic, have sprung (VII, 4); the higher nature *(parā prakṛti)* is the World-soul *(jīvabhūta)* by which the universe is upheld and which is the source and sum of all individual souls (cf. Bhg XV, 7-8). The universe is the divided lower nature of Bhagavat (VII, 4), all the world is strung on Bhagavat as rows of gems upon a thread (VII, 7). The nature of Bhagavat being the material cause of the universe, the cosmic *ὕλη*, the world is fundamentally one with the Absolute from which it is in a sense distinct as the conditioned is distinct from the unconditioned.[10]

About such a conception of the Absolute there is no mention in the seemingly parallel verses of the Gospel: Logos is the cause by which (*δι' αὐτοῦ* John I, 3) all things were made, not from which born beings have sprung (Bhg VII, 6). Logos is a transcendent God; he is the true Light which enlighteneth every man (John I, 9);the Light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it (I, 5). Logos is God in the name of whom one is obliged to believe (I, 12), because no man hath seen God at any time and only by the revelation of God himself his mysteries are to be made known (I, 18).

From the same context another parallel is drawn, too, by Hopkins: „There was the true light" John I, 10; „I am the light of moon and sun" Bhg VII, 8[11] (ION 155).

The verses Bhg VII, 8-12 amplify the thought of the immediately preceding verse: „Than I there is naught higher; on me is strung all this, as rows of gems upon

[4] Lorinser F., Die Bhagavad-Gītā übersetzt und erläutert. Breslau 1869.

[5] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, p. 148-159.

[6] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, p. XIV, 29, 66, 67.

[7] Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 244.

[8] The texts read:

John I, 3: *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν.*

Bhg VII, 6: *etadyonīni bhūtāni sarvāṇīty upadhāraya*
ahaṃ kṛtsnasya jagataḥ prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā

[9] The quotations from the Gītā follow the translation of Hill W. D. P., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928.

[10] Cf. Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 74.

[11] The texts read:

John I, 9: *ἦν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον, ἐρχόμενον εἰς τὸν κόσμον.*

Bhg VII, 8: *raso 'ham apsu Kaunteya prabhāsmi śaśisūryayoḥ*
praṇavaḥ sarvavedeṣu śabdaḥ khe pauruṣaṃ nṛṣu

a thread“ (Bhg VII, 7). Bhagavat is savour in water, light in moon and sun, sound in ether, the sacred syllable „om“ in the Vedas, manhood in men, pure scent in earth, the strength of the strong etc. (Bhg VII, 8-12), because he is the essence of all things, their material and mental substrate.[12] He is the material cause of the world (Bhg VII, 4-6) as well as the formal cause, the essentially cogitable element in all things[13] (Bhg VII, 8-11). As to the essence, there is no difference between Bhagavat and the universe: the world is the evolved nature of Bhagavat himself (VII, 4-6), all the universe is strung upon the Absolute (VII, 7).

In the Gospel, God is Light, and the light shineth in darkness, and the darkness did not comprehend it (John I, 5). Jesus is the Word, in him was life, and the life was the light of men (I, 4): the life of the Word enlightens men (I, 9) with the light of a new life, of a higher life than the natural life to which men were created by the same Word (I, 3). Only Jesus is full of grace and truth (I, 14), only by himself grace and truth could come (I 17), only himself, therefore, is the true Light (I, 9).

In the Bhagavadgītā, Bhagavat is the cosmic ὕλη and, at the same time, the essentially cogitable element in all things; he is, consequently, stated to be the light of moon and sun. In the Gospel, on the contrary, St. John simply uses the metaphor of the light which was not comprehended by darkness - to illustrate the transcendency of God.

Hopkins goes on juxtaposing: „Without him was not anything made“ John I, 3; „I am the seed, without me is nothing made“ Bhg X, 39[14] (ION 155).

In the verses Bhg X, 19-42, Bhagavat enumerates his pervading powers *(vibhūti* X, 7, 16 18, 19, 40) among which the Seed is comprised: „That also which is the Seed of every being am I; nor without me can any being exist that moves or does not move“ (Bhg X, 39). How is the word *„vibhūti“* to be understood? Even if no pantheistic notions occurred in the context (X, 20) and if Bhagavat did not declare: „I am the Self dwelling in the heart of every being; I am the Beginning and Middle of beings, and their End likewise“ (X, 20), still there would exist no doubt that the word *vibhūti* is an item in the pantheistic terminology of the Bhagavadgītā. Bhagavat is addressed by Arjuna: „Indeed thou shouldst tell without reserve thine own divine pervading powers, whereby thou abidest immanent in these worlds“ (X, 16). And the whole passage is resumed in the verse: „But what avails thee this long lesson, Arjuna? I with one part of myself have established this whole universe, and so abide“ (X, 42). Thus, the word *vibhūti* contains an idea of „power“ or „lordship“ and also an idea of „pervasion“ or „immanence“.[15] *Vibhūti* is the manifestation of the Absolute in the universe (cf. Bhg VII, 4-6), viz. the extension or development (vistāra X, 19) of the nature of the Absolute and the emanation therefrom (visṛjāmi IX, 7).

Rudolf Otto[16] maintains that in the verses Bhg VII, 8-11; X, 12-42 no advaitavāda is exhibited; the passage is a hymn to praise Kṛṣṇa. The god of these verses, R. Otto says, is the Numen in all numinous things (LehrBhg 46); he is not unum in

[12] Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 191.

[13] Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 74.

[14] The texts read:

John I, 3: *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο οὐδὲ ἓν ὃ γέγονεν.*

Bhg X, 39: *yac cāpi sarvabhūtānāṃ bījaṃ tad aham Arjuna*
na tad asti vinā yat syān mayā bhūtaṃ carācaram

[15] Hill W. D. P., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, p. 191 note 7.

[16] Otto Rudolf, Die Lehrtraktate der Bhagavadgītā. Tübingen 1935, p. 34, 45 und 46. Abbrev. LehrBhg. - Otto Rudolf, Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen. Stuttgart 1935, p. 58, 72.

omnibus, but optimum in omnibus (LehrBhg 34). The god of the *bhakti* in the Bhagavadgītā is a universal god, viz. the god in whom the universe is comprehended, from whom the emanation of all things proceeds and into whom the world is to be reabsorbed. This god and the world are one; but they are one per synthesin, not per analysin (Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen, p. 158).

This interpretation of R. Otto expresses no more theistic idea than the Bhagavadgītā itself. There is only a difference of degree between the phrase „Deus est unum in omnibus" and the phrase „Deus est optimum in omnibus"; in order to express a theistic meaning, the phrase ought to be formulated: „optimo modo est in Deo, quidquid perfectionis est in creaturis", viz. in Gold, all perfections of the creatures are comprehended in the eminent way.

With the pantheistic sense of the verses of the Bhagavadgītā, there is no internal propinquity in the thought of the simple words of the Gospel: „All things were made by him, and without him was made nothing that was made" (John I, 3).

The same passage of the tenth chapter of the Gītā is compared by Hopkins also with the Apocalypse: „I am the first and the last and the living one. I hold the keys of life and death" Apoc. I. 17-19; „I am alpha and omega" Apoc. XXII, 13. - „I am the beginning, the middle and the end, the wisdom of all wisdom, the speech of them that speak, the letter A among the letters, time imperishable, the Creator, death and life" Bhg X, 32-34[17] (ION 156).

Hopkins does not translate the text of the Gītā in a precise way. The text runs: „Of creations I am the Beginning and the End, and the Middle too; of sciences, the Science of Essential Self; of arguments, the True. Of letters I am the letter A; of compound words, the Pair; I am Time imperishable; I, the Creator, facing every way; all-seizing Death am I, and the Source of things to be" (Bhg X, 32-34). The phraseology of the Bhagavadgītā and of the Apocalypse is not identical: the Apocalypse speaks simply about *α* and *ω* (I, 8; XXI, 6; XXII, I3); no attribute is added. The Bhagavadgītā states: „Of creations I am the Beginning and the End, and the Middle too." In this verse, the Bhagavadgītā repeats the thought of the verse X, 20: „I am the Self dwelling in the heart of every being; I am the Beginning and Middle of beings, and their End likewise." Thus, Bhagavat is not only the cause of the manifestation of created beings, of their persistence and dissolution, but it is his own prakṛti which itself comes into being, remains in manifestation, and is dissolved again.[18] While the Apocalypse refers to God as the effective and final cause of the world, the Bhagavadgītā alludes to the Absolute as also the material and formal cause of the universe (cf. VII, 4-11 and the parallel examined above).

Besides, the thought of the Gītā must be interpreted in the frame of the whole context. The verses X, 32 -34 are some items from the long series of the pervading

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[17] The texts read:

Apoc. I, 17-19: *μὴ φοβοῦ · ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος καὶ ὁ ζῶν, καὶ ἐγενόμην νεκρὸς καὶ ἰδοὺ ζῶν εἰμι εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ ἔχω τὰς κλεῖς τοῦ θανάτου καὶ τοῦ ᾅδου.*

Apoc. XXII, 13: *ἐγὼ τὸ ἄλφα καὶ τὸ ὦ, ὁ πρῶτος καὶ ὁ ἔσχατος, ἡ ἀρχὴ καὶ τὸ τέλος.*

Bhg X, 32-34: *sargāṇam ādir antaś ca madhyaṃ caivāham Arjuna*
adhyātmavidyā vidyānāṃ vādaḥ pravadatām aham
akṣarāṇām akāro 'smi dvandvaḥ sāmāsikasya ca.
aham evākṣayaḥ kālo dhātāhaṃ viśvatomukhaḥ
mṛtyuḥ sarvaharaś cāham udbhavaś ca bhaviṣyatām

[18] Cf. Hill W. D. P., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1928, p. 195 n. 1.

powers *(vibhūti)* of Bhagavat who is an immanent god, permeating the universe (X, 16, 42), all things being an emanation and extension *(vistāra* X, 19) of the nature of the Absolute. On the contrary, the God of the Apocalypse is a transcendent God. The sayings: „I am the first, and the last and alive ... and have the keys of death and of hell" (Apoc. I, 17-18) are uttered by the Son of man (I, 13) and a pantheistic explanation of this name of Jesus was not proposed even by the most extreme exegesis.[19] And the words: „I am alpha and omega" are put on the lips of the Lord God (I, 8), of Him that sat on the throne (XXI, 5) and on the lips of Jesus (XXII, 18); the context in all these three passages refers to God as a transcendent Lord of the universe, as the all-knowing and almighty Judge (I, 7; XXI, 5-8; XXII, 12-15), the Renewer of all things (XXI, 5) and the Rewarder of every man according to his works (XXI, 6-8; XXII, 12).

Another parallel is seen by Hopkins in the verses : „I am the way, and the truth, and the life" John XIV, 6; „I am the way ... the refuge, the friend, life and death, the support, the treasure; the eternal seed" Bhg IX, 18. (The Scriptures) „are they that bear witness of me" John V, 39; „By all the Vedas I am to be known" Bhg XV, 15[20] (ION 156).

In order to construct this parallel, Hopkins selects from the context only some fragments. In the Gospel, Jesus declares: „I am the way, and the truth, and the life," and, immediately, he explains : „No man cometh to the Father but by me" (John XIV, 6). In the following, Jesus proclaims: „I am the vine, you the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for without me you can do nothing" (John XV, 5). Jesus is the life from which every man must participate in order not to be cast forth as a branch and put into the fire (XV, 6). Jesus is the only way of salvation, the way by which his followers go to the Father (XIV, 6). No pantheistic idea is expressed in these words of the Gospel: the sharing

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[19] Cf. ex. gr. the works:

Bousset W., Kyrios Christos. Göttingen 1921. Kap. I: Jesus der Messias-Menschensohn im Glauben der paläst. Gemeinde.

Bousset W. - Gressmann H., Die Religion des Judentums im späthellenistischen Zeitalter. Tübingen 1926, p. 265 ff.

Bultmann D. R., Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen u. manich. Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannesevangeliums. Zeitschrift f. d. nt. Wiss. XXIV, Gießen 1925, p. 100-146.

Cadoux A. T., The Son of Man. The Interpreter XVIII. London 1922, p. 202-214.

Clemen D. C., Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des NT. 2. Aufl. Gieẏen 1924, p. 68-75.

Graham I. W., The Mind of the Son of Man. The Interpreter VIII. London 1912, p. 289-302.

Hertlein E., Ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. Zt. f. d. nt. Wiss. XIX, Gießen 1920 p. 46-48.

Kristensen W. B., De term Zoon des Menschen; toegelicht uit de anthropologie der ouden. Theologisch Tijdschrift, 45 jaarg. Leiden 1911, p. 1-38.

Kuhnert E., Ὁ *υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου*. Zt. f. d. nt. Wiss. XVIII, Gießen 1918, p. 165-176.

Reitzenstein R., Iranischer Erlösungsglaube. Zt. f. d. nt. Wiss. XX, Gieẏen 1921, p. 1-23.

Reitzenstein R., Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium. Bonn a. R. 1921, p. 116-123.

[20] The texts read:

John XIV, 6: *λέγει αὐτῷ* Ἰ*ησοῦς · ἐγώ εἰμι ἡ ὁδὸς καὶ ἡ ἀλήθεια καὶ ἡ ζωή · οὐδεὶς ἔρχεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα εἰ μὴ δι' ἐμοῦ.*

Bhg IX, 18: *gatir bhartā prabhuḥ sākṣī nivāsaḥ śaraṇaṃ suhṛt*
prabhavaḥ pralayaḥ sthānaṃ nidhānaṃ bījaṃ avyayam

John V, 39: *ἐρευνᾶτε τὰς γραφάς, ὅτι ὑμεῖς δοκεῖτε ἐν αὐταῖς ζωὴν αἰώνιον ἔχειν · καὶ ἐκεῖναί εἰσιν αἱ μαρτυροῦσαι περὶ ἐμοῦ.*

Bhg XV, 15: *sarvasya cāhaṃ hṛdi saṃniviṣṭo mattaḥ smṛtir jñānam apohanaṃ ca*
vedaiś ca sarvair aham eva vedyo vedāntakṛd vedavid eva cāham

in Jesus' life as the only way of salvation implies no essential identity of the man with the Absolute: this sharing is a quality which is added to the natural life of man, and, consequently, which presupposes, not constitutes, the natural life of man. The participation in the life of Jesus is a gift, a grace, given to those, and only to those, who received the Word, who believe in his name: „As many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name, who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (John I, 12-13). The sharing in the life of Jesus is effected therefore, not by the natural nativity, but by the fact of being „born again of water and the Holy Ghost" (John III, 5). In short, the union of Jesus with his elected, intimate and internal as it is, does not consist in the identity of the essence of man and of the Absolute, but in a supernatural gift which, the nature of man presupposing and not destroying, elevates man to „be made conformable to the image of the Son, that he might be the firstborn amongst many brethren" (Rom. VIII, 29).

In the parallel verses of the Bhagavadgītā Bhagavat says : „I am the offering ... I am the father of this universe, the mother, the creator, the grandsire; that which is to be known, and that which purifies; om; the Ṛ̊ig, the Sāman, and the Yajus; the way, the sustainer, the lord, the witness, the dwelling, the refuge, the friend; the origin, the dissolution, the resting-place; the treasure-house, the seed immutable. I give heat; I restrain and pour forth the rain; I am deathlessness, yea, and death; being and no-being am I" (Bhg IX, 16-19). In this connexion, no doubt is left about the pantheistic thought of the Bhagavadgītā. The verse immediately preceding, too, emphasizes the pantheistic character of the Absolute: „Others worship me, offering the sacrifice of knowledge, regarding me as one, as separate, me, who in various forms face every way" (IX, 15), i.e. these worshippers contemplate the Supreme either as the universal One, the Whole of existence, or as specially manifested in any phenomenon, or as combining an infinite number of aspects.[21]

The same pantheistic ideas form the background of the verses Bhg XV, 12-15: Bhagavat is the brilliance in the sun, in the moon and in fire (XV, 12), he is Soma, moisture's essence, in all herbs (XV, 13); becoming the Vaiśvānara fire, he dwells in the body of all breathing creatures and digests the four kinds of food (XV, 14). „And I am seated in the heart of all", he says, „from me are memory, knowledge, and removal of doubt; by all the Vedas am I to be known; and I am he who made the Vedas' Ends, and know the Vedas" (XV, 15). In these words, the Bhagavadgītā resumes the theme of the verse IX, 17: „I am that which is to be known ... I am om, I am the Ṛ̊ig, the Sāman, and the Yajus." It is evident that Bhagavat does not refer to the Vedas as to a thing distinct from himself: he is the immanent principle of the Vedas as well as of all beings, be they inorganic (XV, 12), vegetable (XV, 13), animal (XV, 14) or psychic (XV, 15). He is the vivifying force of physical and mental life.

On the contrary, in the Gospel, Jesus, defending himself against the Jews, appeals to the Scriptures as to a witness, in the same way as he appeals to the testimony of the Father (John V, 32, 37) and of John (V, 33).

The close and intimate union between Kṛ̊ṣṇa and his bhaktas in the Gītā and between Jesus and his disciples in the Gospel offers another opportunity of speaking about parallelism. In this case, Hopkins is followed by Deussen[22] and by Garbe.[23]

[21] Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 195.

[22] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, p. XIV, 66.

Hopkins juxtaposes: „You in me and I in you“ John XIV, 20 (so John VI, 56 and XVII, 20-23); „If any worship me in loving devotion, they are in me and I in them“ Bhg IX, 29[24] (ION 156).

In the sentence: „You in me, and I in you“ (John XIV, 20; cf. VI, 56; XVII, 20, 23), Jesus expresses his special relation to those who love him and who keep his word (XIV, 20-23). Jesus reveals himself to them and makes his abode with them as loving and loved: „He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them: he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father: and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him“ (XIV, 21). „If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him“ (XIV, 23). This union with Jesus in knowing and loving him is the absolutely necessary condition of salvation: „I am the vine; you the branches: he that abideth in me, and I in him, the same beareth much fruit: for without me you can do nothing“ (John XV, 5). Thus, Jesus iterates the thougt of the verse XIV, 6: „I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me.“

Jesus by no means asserts his essential identity with living creatures: he declares his union only with those who love him and keep his commandments, as distinguished from „the world“ (XIV, 22; XVII, 21, 23), and this union does not imply any essential identity of the man with the Absolute, the love of Jesus and the keeping of his commandments being the condition upon which the union with Jesus depends (XIV, 21).

In the Bhagavadgītā, the parallel verse reads: „All beings I regard alike; not one is hateful to me or beloved; but those who with devotion worship me abide in me, and I also in them“ (Bhg IX, 29). Into these words of the Gītā, indeed, a theistic sense can be introduced. So Telang[25] annotates: „They dwell in me by their devotion to me: I dwell in them as giver of happiness to them.“ But it is sufficient to take into consideration the first half of the verse to notice that the Absolute of the Bhagavadgītā is meant as immanent. Barnett[26] is right in putting the sentence in connexion with Bhg V, 19: in V, 19 *brahma*, in IX, 29 *Vāsudeva*, are indifferent to all beings. The sense of the verse IX, 29 is that, the Absolute being equally present in all beings as the essence of the universe, this relation of the Absolute to relative beings cannot depend upon any sentiment; quite different, however, is the relation between man and the Absolute as the goal of salvation: in the order of salvation, the Absolute becomes the object both of knowledge and of loving devotion, the realization of the fundamental unity of the Absolute with the universe being the goal of the knowledge (IV, 35) as well as of self-control (VI, 29) and of devotion (VI, 31; VII, 17).

The union of Bhagavat with his bhaktas is explained by Rudolf Otto[27] in the theistic sense: the thought of the Bhagavadgītā, however monistic be its terminology, expresses but a mystic union of the Creator with his creature in the ecstasy of

[23] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 103, n. 2.
Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 248, note 1.

[24] The texts read:
John XIV, 20: *ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γνώσεσθε ὑμεῖς ὅτι ἐγὼ ἐν τῷ πατρί μου καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ ἐν ὑμῖν.*
Bhg IX, 29: *samo 'haṃ sarvabhūteṣu na me dveṣyo 'sti na priyaḥ*
ye bhajanti tu māṃ bhaktyā mayi te teṣu cāpy aham

[25] Telang K. T., The Bhagavadgītā. SBE VIII. 2nd ed. Oxford 1908, p. 85, n. 3.

[26] Barnett L. D. The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936 p. 67, n. l.

[27] Otto Rudolf, Die Lehrtraktate der Bhagavadgītā. Tübingen 1935, p. 33.

loving devotion. This mystic devotion is called by R. Otto advaita-bhakti as distinguished from the impersonal advaita mysticism. The contents of the verses Bhg VI, 27-32 is, in the view of R. Otto, a mysticism of the Īśa Upanishad and of Viṣṇu-purāṇa conceived in a quite personal sense.

Indeed, the verse Bhg VI, 30 is reminiscent, in diction and in thought, of Īśa Upanishad 6; but this fact by no means bears out the interpretation of R. Otto. In opposition to the opinion of this scholar, Eliade[28] says of the mysticism of Bhg VI, 27-32 and of Īśa Up. 6: „Kṛṣṇa, the personal god and the source of mystic experience, is identified with brahma of the Upanishadic speculation. The results of this speculation, the essential identity of *ātman-brahma*, are accepted and made the object of experience in mystic milieus. The union of the human soul with the World-soul, personified by Kṛṣṇa, is possible, both having the same essence. But the human soul is limited by ignorance, bewildered by egoism, seduced by dogmas. The Bhagavadgītā recommends the methods by which man can realize the harmony and the union of the two souls. Yoga is one of the ways of making this union an object of personal experience."

An accurate interpretation cannot ignore the pantheistic background of the ideas of the Gītā: Bhagavat abides in those who worship him with devotion (VI, 31; IX, 29), but only because the bhakti helps man to realize and experience the fundamental unity of the universe with the Absolute, who dwells in all beings: „Whoso, intent on unity *(ekatvam āsthita)*, devoutly worships me, who dwell in every being *(sarvabhūtasthita)*, in whatsoever state he may abide, that Ascetic abides in me" (Bhg VI, 31). Such an Ascetic sees the same everywhere (sarvatra samaṃ paśyati VI, 32); therefore, he deserves to be called *ekabhakti* (VII, 17), the devotee of the Absolute who is One and All.

The thought of the Bhagavadgītā is the experiencing of the essential unity of man with the Absolute; the thought of the Gospel, on the contrary, is the elevation of the natural man into a new state, into a new life which depends upon Jesus in the principle („I am the true vine" John XV, 1) as well as in any manifestation („without me you can do nothing" John XV, 5).

In a close connexion with the verses Bhg IX, 29; John XIV, 20 Hopkins puts another parallel: „In him we live and move and have our being" Acts XVII, 28 (Phainomena); „In him are all creatures, all is pervaded by him" Bhg VIII, 22[29] (ION l56). In truth, in these passages, there is expressed a quite different idea from that of the preceding parallel: here, no mention is found of the effects of the bhakti and of the *ἀγάπη*, only of the relation between created beings and the Absolute as their Creator and Sustainer.

In the Acts of the Apostles, St. Paul asserts the ubiquity of God as the Creator (XVII, 24) and the Sustainer („in him we live" XVII, 28), as the almighty Lord upon whom any manifestation of life („in him we move" XVII, 28) and any being in general depends („in him we have our being" XVII, 28). The transcendence of God is distinctly expressed: God, the Lord of heaven and earth, dwelleth not in temples made with hands (XVII, 24), he is the Creator and the Lord of all the world and of

[28] Eliade Mircea, Yoga. Paris-Bucarest 1936, p. 158.

[29] The texts read:

ACt. Ap. XVII, 28: *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καί ἐσμέν ὡς καὶ τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν · τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν.*

Bhg VIII, 22: *puruṣaḥ sa paraḥ Pārtha bhaktyā labhyas tvananyayā*
yasyāntaḥsthāni bhūtāni yena sarvam idaṃ tatam

life (XVII, 24-25) and of mankind (XVII, 26, 28), he is the Sovereign who orders man to do penance (XVII, 30) and who will judge the world in equity (XVII, 31).

If we call the ubiquity and the cooperating of God in any doing of created beings the immanence of God in the world, then we must strictly discriminate between this theistic immanence and immanence in the pantheistic sense of the word. In the theistic conception, the world possesses its own being which is essentially different from the being of God; from the pantheistic point of view, the Absolute and the universe are essentially one and the same being. Theism affirms that God comprehends the world in an immanent active synthesis as well as in an actual transcendent synthesis: God comprehends the world in himself in his own divine way: yad iha, tad atra ~ quod hic, hoc ibi. But God procures to the world also its immanent synthesis: God is present in the world because he gives to the world its presence in itself; and the world is present in God because God, transcendent as he is, embraces it with the arms of his all-realizing perfection or presence. The presence of God in the world is a praesentia actuosa, a presence that is activity establishing in the existence that in which he is present; thus, the presence of God in the world has nothing in common with the juxtaposition in space and the simultaneity in time.[30]

The text of the Acts of the Apostles, an emphasized assertion of the ubiquity of God, does not imply any pantheistic ideas. That is not the case of the Bhagavadgītā. The verses Bhg VIII, 18-22 resume the cosmology and the ontology of the Gītā. The cosmic process is a series of the periods in which all created beings evolve from the unmanifest, and, when the period has passed, are reabsorbed in the same unmanifest *(avyaktam*, VIII, 18). This process evolves with necessity (VIII, 19; cf. IX, 8). Beyond this unmanifest there is another unmanifest (VIII, 20), the supreme being, *puruṣa*. This is the Person Supreme, to be gained by undivided devotion wherein do beings abide, whereby all this is pervaded" (VIII, 22). These words of the Bhagavadgītā refer distinctly to the pantheistic Absolute. This fact is in accord with the cosmology of the Gītā which states the world to be the emanation and the extension of the lower nature of Bhagavat (VII, 4-7; IX, 7-8), there being, therefore, as to the essence, no difference between the Creator and the created. Besides, the Absolute is repeatedly declared to be the immanent cause of the universe (yena sarvam idaṃ tatam, II, 17; VIII, 22; IX, 4; XI, 38; XVIII, 46).

Rudolf Otto[31] tries to explain the words of the Gītā in a purely theistic sense and even ventures to deduce therefrom the notion of the creation identical to that known in occidental philosophy. But he inserts his personal ideas into the text: his translation of the verses in question where in two verses (Bhg IX, 5-6) he includes, though in brackets, six considerable additions of his own, cannot be called a translation but a loose paraphrase.[32] Barnett[33] resumes the contents of the verses IX, 4 ff. in the words: *„Vāsudeva* as Absolute partially limits Himself, imposing upon a portion of His unconditioned self conditions of determinate being, and thus creates out of Himself a universe which is in a sense distinct from Himself, as the conditioned is distinct from the unconditioned and yet is fundamentally one with Him."

[30] Cf. Johanns Pierre, Vers le Christ par le Vedânta. Tome I. (Trad. par M. Ledrus.) Louvain 1932, p. 138-139.

[31] Otto Rudolf, Die Lehrtraktate der Bhagavadgītā. Tübingen 1935, p. 36-38.

[32] Otto R., Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen. Stuttgart 1935, p. 65-66.

[33] Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 74.

The theistic ubiquity asserted in the Acts of the Apostles has, therefore, no parallel idea in the Bhagavadgītā.

Comparing the bhakti of the Gītā with the faith preached in the Gospel, Hopkins constructs another parallel: „Whosoever believeth in him shall not perish" John III, 15; „He that believeth in me doth not perish" Bhg IX, 31[34] (ION 155).

The words of Jesus are nearly the same as those of Kṛṣṇa, as they appear in the quotations of Hopkins. But Hopkins does not translate literally. The text of the Gītā reads: „Who is devoted to me does not perish" *(na me bhaktaḥ praṇaśyati).*[35]

In the Gospel, Jesus promises everlasting life to those who believe in him (John III, 15, 16). What „to believe" means is to be understood from the context. Jesus declares: „We speak what we know, and we testify what we have seen, and you receive not our testimony. If I have spoken to you earthly things, and you believe not: how will you believe if I shall speak to you heavenly things?" (John III, 11-12). In these words, the definition of the faith is determined: to believe means to receive a testimony because of the authority of the witness. In the case of divine faith, the witness is God himself : „No man hath ascended into heaven, but he that descended from heaven, the Son of man who is in heaven" (John III, 13). Therefore, only the Son of man, Jesus, can reveal the mysteries of God: „For this was I born, and for this came I into the world: that I should give testimony to the truth" (John XVIII, 37). The truth of Jesus leads man to salvation: „He that believeth in him is not judged" (III, 18), for „God so loved the world, as to give his only begotten Son; that whosoever believeth in him, may not perish, but may have life everlasting" (III, 16). The faith is the seed of everlasting life: „This is eternal life: that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent" (John XVII, 3). Faith is not an act of the reason only („they have known in very deed" XVII, 8): it is an act of the will, too, („they have received" „believed" XVII, 8), upon which it depends to consent to or to refuse what is to be believed („men loved darkness rather than the light" III, 19); but the essential constituent of faith is the grace of God: „I have manifested thy name to the men whom thou hast given me out of the world" (John XVII, 6; cf. XVII, 2). „No man can come to me except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him" VI, 44, „unless it be given him by my Father" VI, 65 (=Vulg. VI, 66).

The emphasis laid on the part of the grace of God in the act of faith is the essential character of the doctrine of the Gospel and forms a complete contrast to the thought of the Bhagavadgītā. *Bhakti,* an emotional devotion to the deity, is not apprehended as a divine grace, in the Gītā. *Bhakti* is an effect of the endeavour of man himself. The *bhakta* has to conceive right resolves (IX 31), to direct his mind, his devotion, his reverence and sacrifice to the Absolute, to make the deity his only aim (IX, 34): by such an effort he becomes righteous (IX, 31), realizes the bhakti, and the bhakti, being no longer checked in its efficacy by hindrance, conveys him ex opere operato, without any gracious cooperation of the deity, to the highest goal (IX, 32), to the experiencing of the fundamental unity of the Absolute with the universe.

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[34] The texts read:

John III, 14-15: *καὶ καθὼς* Μωϋσῆς *ὕψωσεν τὸν ὄφιν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ, οὕτως ὑψωθῆναι δεῖ τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ἵνα πᾶς ὁ πιστεύων ἐν αὐτῷ* [εἰς αὐτὸν] *ἔχῃ ζωὴν αἰώνιον.*

Bhg IX, 31: *kṣipraṃ bhavati dharmātmā śāśvac chāntiṃ nigacchati*
Kaunteya pratijānīhi na me bhaktaḥ praṇaśyati

[35] Cf. the translations of Barnett („who is devoted to me"), Hill („my votary"), Telang („my devotee") and others.

Hopkins considers not only the *bhakti* but also the salutary knowledge *(jñāna)* as parallel with the faith preached in the Gospel : „If a man keep my word he shall never see death; whosoever liveth and believeth on me shall never die" John VIII, 5l; XI, 26; „They that trust in me come to escape age and death" Bhg VII, 29; also, „He that truly knows my divine birth and work, on casting off this body is not born again but comes to me" Bhg IV, 9[36] (ION 156).

Hopkins compares further: „This is life eternal that they should know thee, the only true God, and him whom thou didst send" John XVII, 3; „He who knows me, the Lord of the world, is freed from all sins" (i.e. gets life eternal) Bhg X, 3[37] (ION 157).

What is to be known to win the release from mortal existences? In the first place brahma, furthermore, the Essential Self *(adhyātma),* the Work (*karma,* VII, 29), Bhagavat as the Essential Being *(adhibhūta),* the Essential Deity *(adhidaiva)* and the Essential Sacrifice (*adhiyajña,* VII, 30). Moreover, the verse Bhg IV, 9 adds the incarnations of the Absolute, and, in the verse quoted by Hopkins, we learn : „He who knows me as birthless and without beginning, as the Great Lord of worlds, is among mortals undeluded and is released from every sin" (X, 3). The verses immediately following amplify the thought: who know that the states of beings proceed from the Absolute alone (X, 4), that the seven Great Seers, the four Ancients and the Manus were born of the mind of Bhagavat (X, 6), in short, that all beings issue forth from the Absolute (X, 8), those wise men are possessed of the discernment whereby they come to the Absolute (X, 10). This knowledge is the revelation of the Absolute in the heart of man: „Abiding in their souls, do I for pity's sake destroy with the brilliant lamp of knowledge their darkness born of ignorance" (X, 11). The immanence of the Absolute and his essential unity with the universe is the very substance of the salutary knowledge: „Who sees the Lord Supreme dwelling alike in all beings, perishing not as they perish, he sees indeed" (XIII, 27). The revelation of the Absolute in the heart of the man of knowledge, effected by the Absolute himself as it may be (X, 11), is none the less a result of the effort of the man himself: „The single-hearted man of faith, with senses held in check, gains knowledge" (IV, 39). This knowledge gained, the help of the deity and the endeavour of the man is needed no more: „Having gained knowledge, he comes right soon to the highest place" (IV, 39); the fire of that knowledge makes ashes of all works (IV, 37), every stain is cleansed by knowledge (V, 17), by the boat of that knowledge alone the man passes over all crookedness (IV, 36), man has his salvation secured however be his life (XIII, 23).

On the contrary, in the Gospel, the faith as recognizing and confessing the only true God and the salvatory work of Jesus Christ (XVII, 3, 8) is in first place a work

[36] The texts read:

John VIII, 51: *ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, ἐάν τις τὸν ἐμὸν λόγον τηρήσῃ, θάνατον οὐ μὴ θεωρήσῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*
John XI, 26: *ὁ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ κἂν ἀποθάνῃ ζώσεται, καὶ πᾶς ὁ ζῶν καὶ πιστεύων εἰς ἐμὲ οὐ μὴ ἀποθάνῃ εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.*
Bhg VII, 29: *jarāmaraṇamokṣāya mām āśritya yatanti ye*
te brahma tad viduḥ kṛtsnam adhyātmaṃ karma cākhilam
Bhg IV, 9: *janma karma ca me divyam evaṃ yo vetti tattvataḥ*
tyaktvā dehaṃ punar janma naiti mām eti so 'rjuna

[37] The texts read:

John XVII, 3: *αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ αἰώνιος ζωή, ἵνα γινώσκωσιν σὲ τὸν μόνον ἀληθινὸν θεὸν καὶ ὃν ἀπέστειλας Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.*
Bhg X, 3: *yo mām ajam anādiṃ ca vetti lokamaheśvaram*
asaṃmūḍhaḥ sa martyeṣu sarvapāpaiḥ pramucyate

of God's grace which is given only to the elected (XVII, 2, 6; cf. VI, 44, 65). This faith, though requiring from the man the practice of the „keeping of the word" (XVII, 6; cf. VIII, 51) and the „doing of the truth" (III, 21), depends upon God's grace in principle as well as in its perseverance (John XV, 5; cf. Philipp. II, 13). Moreover, according to the Gospel, God is no immanent Absolute and to believe in his name does not mean to recognize any essential unity with the Absolute. The God of the New Testament is a transcendent Absolute and belief in his name is the act of receiving the testimony based on his authority (John III, 11-13).

If faith is a grace of God, the more so salvation which is the goal of faith. This constitutes the difference between the Hindu and the Christian conception of salvation. Nevertheless, Hopkins discovers parallelism even in this regard: „Every one that ... hath learned cometh unto me" John VI, 45; „They that worship me come unto me" Bhg IX, 25[38] (ION 156).

Hopkins' quoting is fragmentary. The text of the Gospel runs: „It is written in the prophets: „And they shall all be taught of God." Every one that hath heard of the Father and hath learned, cometh to me" (John VI, 45). Jesus refers to the Scripture (Is 54, 13) to confirm the thought of the preceding verse: „No man can come to me, except the Father, who hath sent me, draw him, and I will raise him up in the last day" (VI, 44). Below, Jesus resumes the thought once more: „Therefore did I say to you, that no man can come to me, unless it be given him by my Father" (VI, 65 = Vulg. VI, 66).

On the contrary, in the Bhagavadgītā, attaining to the Absolute is apprehended as the direct effect of the bhakti realized by the effort of the man himself. The bhakti operates by its own efficacy; if the bhakti is realized, the man necessarily goes to the worshipped deity: „Whatsoever being a man remembers, when at the end he abandons his body, to that same being he goes, ever with that being made one" (VIII, 6). Consequently: „To the Lords of Heaven go they who pay their vows to the Fathers; to the Ghosts go they who offer to the Ghosts; to me, too, do they go who sacrifice to me" (IX, 25).

By his fragmentary and inaccurate quotations Hopkins sometimes reverses the thought of the texts : „He that loveth me ... I shall love him" John XIV, 21; „I love them that are devoted to me, even as they to me, so I to them" Bhg IV, 11; „He is dear to me" Bhg VII, 17[39] (ION 156-157).

The text of the Gospel reads: „He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them: he it is that loveth me. And he that loveth me, shall be loved of my Father: and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him" (John XIV, 21). And two verses below: „If any one love me, he will keep my word ... He that loveth me not, keepeth not my words" (XIV, 23-24). In a short passage, Jesus reiterates four times the thought of the verse XIV, 15 : „If you love me keep my commandments." The love Jesus requires is to be manifested by keeping his commandments: „Abide in

[38] The texts read:

John VI, 45: *ἔστιν γεγραμμένον ἐν τοῖς προφήταις · καὶ ἔσονται πάντες διδακτοὶ θεοῦ · πᾶς ὁ ἀκούσας παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ μαθὼν ἔρχεται πρὸς ἐμέ.*

Bhg IX, 25: *yānti devavratā devān pitṝn yānti pitṛvratāḥ*
bhūtāni yānti bhūtejyā yānti madyājino 'pi mām

[39] The texts read:

John XIV, 21: *ὁ ἔχων τὰς ἐντολάς μου καὶ τηρῶν αὐτάς, ἐκεῖνός ἐστιν ὁ ἀγαπῶν με · ὁ δὲ ἀγαπῶν με ἀγαπηθήσεται ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός μου, κἀγὼ ἀγαπήσω αὐτὸν καὶ ἐμφανίσω αὐτῷ ἐμαυτόν.*

Bhg IV, 11: *ye yathā māṃ prapadyante tāṃs tathaiva bhajāmy aham*
mama vartmānuvartante manuṣyāḥ Pārtha sarvaśaḥ

my love. If you keep my commandments, you shall abide in my love" (XV, 9-10). The love of Jesus and the keeping of his commandments are the conditio sine qua non of salvation: „Abide in me, and I in you" (XV, 4); „if any one abide not in me, he shall be cast forth as a branch, and shall wither, and they shall gather him up, and cast him into the fire, and he burneth" (XV, 6).

In the Bhagavadgītā, however, bhakti is by no means the unique and exclusive way of attaining to the Absolute; man is free to choose any way of salvation: „However men approach me, in that same way do I show them favour; my path men follow in all ways" (Bhg IV, 11). In other passages, the Bhagavadgītā expresses this thought still more distinctly: „If any votary desires with faith to reverence any form, I make that very faith of his secure" (VII, 2l). The Bhagavadgītā affirms, indeed, that any cult has its final goal in the same Absolute, although the ways of reaching this goal be not equally direct and easy (VII, 22; IX, 24); but it is not said, thereby, that any cult can per accidens become a way of salvation for those who are bona fide: the idea of the Bhagavadgītā is that systems of worshipping differ in the degree of their efficacy only, not in their essence, each of them being directed to the same Absolute.

The *avatāra* in the person of Kṛṣṇa seems to Hopkins to be a parallel to Jesus Christ, the incarnate Word: „To this end have I been born and to this end have I come into the world, that I should bear witness unto the truth ..." „That the world might be saved" John XVIII, 37 and III, 17; „I am born age after age for the saving of the good, the destruction of evildoers, and for the sake of establishing virtue" Bhg IV, 8[40] (ION 157).

Literally, the text of the Bhg IV, 8 reads: „To guard the good and to destroy the wicked and to confirm the right, I come into being in this age and in that." The words „to guard the good" *(paritrāṇāya sādhūnām)* tell that the deity is only guarding and helping the good, consequently, that the intervention of the deity is not absolutely necessary. This sense of the verse is confirmed by the words that the deity comes into being in order to confirm the right *(dharmasaṃsthāpanārthāya)*. Thus, Bhagavat does not bring a new law, a new order or a new life to the world, he comes only to confirm the law that has existed in the world since its very beginning. In this Hindu conception, salvation does not mean an elevation into a supernatural state: it is the fruit of the natural order, provided that the hindrances be removed by which natural evolution is checked: in order to free the world from these obstacles, the deity comes into being age after age.

How the words „I come into being" (saṃbhavāmi) are to be understood, appears from the context: „Though unborn and immutable in essence, though Lord of beings, yet governing Nature which is mine, I come into being by my delusive power" (Bhg IV, 6). Rudolf Otto[41] who in other passages, too, tries to find in the pantheistic phraseology theistic contents, excludes in these words of the Bhagavadgītā any „docetic" sense and explains the expression *„ātmamāyayā"* in a „fully realistic sense": Kṛṣṇa's coming into being is no māyā in the sense of an

[40] The texts read:

John XVIII, 37: *ἐγὼ εἰς τοῦτο γεγέννημαι καὶ εἰς τοῦτο ἐλήλυθα εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα μαρτυρήσω τῇ ἀληθείᾳ.*

John III, 17: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν υἱὸν εἰς τὸν κόσμον, ἵνα κρίνῃ τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλ' ἵνα σωθῇ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ.*

Bhg IV, 8: *paritrāṇāya sādhūnāṃ vināśāya ca duṣkrtām*
dharmasaṃsthāpanārthāya saṃbhavāmi yuge yuge

[41] Otto R., Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen. Stuttgart 1935, p. 151 (ad Bhg IV, 6).

illusion, but a real wonder effected by *yogamāyā,* i.e. *by svecchā,* the free will of god.[42] But this „realistic" interpretation does not affect the fact that there is a question of the same way of coming into being as in the case of the birth of the universe; the expressions used by the Bhagavadgītā in both cases are nearly the same: „Resorting to Nature, which is my own, I send forth again and again this whole company of beings, powerless, by the power of Nature" (IX, 8). The origin in both cases is an emanation (*sṛjāmi,* IV, *7; visṛjāmi* IX, 8), the influence of the Absolute upon his own nature, from which the emanation procedes, is in both cases the same; in the meaning of the words *adhiṣṭhāya* and *avaṣṭabhya* there is no essential difference.[43] Thus, the *avatāra* of the Absolute as well as the birth of the created beings are emanations from one and the same nature of the Absolute.

On the contrary, in the Gospel, the incarnation is stated to be an act of God who has „given his only begotten Son" (III, 16), the act, by which „the Word was made flesh" (John I, 14), none the less remaining „the Light that the darkness did not comprehend" (I, 5), viz. a transcendent God by whom all things were made (I, 3, 10).

Both in the Bhagavadgītā and in the Gospel, the aim of the incarnation is the salvation of mankind; but in the Hindu conception, salvation is a fruit of the natural order; the help of the deity in the realization of the salvation of man is not absolutely necessary. In the Gospel, however, salvation consists in the elevation of the man into a new state: it is a regeneration of water and of the Holy Ghost (John III, 5). This regeneration is a work of God's grace: „The Spirit breatheth where he will" (John III, 8), and „the Son giveth life to whom he will" (John V, 21). Thus, the supernatural state of man depends upon God's grace in principle (III, 5;, V, 21) and in any manifestation as well (XV, 5).

Hopkins adduces further cases of parallelism: „The world was made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and they that were his own received him not" John I, 10-11; „Men distraught know me not in my godly nature; I take a human form and they honour me not" Bhg IX, 11. - „The world beholdeth him not, neither knoweth him" John XIV, 17, compared with: „I am not beheld of all ... the world knows me not" Bhg VII, 25[44] (ION 155).

In comparing these verses, Hopkins is not hindered by the fact that, in the Bhagavadgītā, in both passages, the same person is in question, viz. Bhagavat, while in the Gospel, the first time reference is made to the Word (Logos, John I, 1-14), the second time to the Spirit of truth (XIV, 17). But, principally, it is the pantheistic background by which the thought of the Gītā is essentially distinguished from that of the Gospel. The whole verse Bhg VII, 25 reads: „Veiled by my power of delusion, I am not light to all; deluded is this world, and does not recognize me as unborn,

[42] See Rāmānuja's commentary ad locum.

[43] See ex. gr. Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 121, n. 4, and the translations of Garbe, Barnett, Telang and others.

[44] The texts read:

John I, 10-11: *ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ ἦν, καὶ ὁ κόσμος δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ ὁ κόσμος αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔγνω · εἰς τὰ ἴδια ἦλθεν, καὶ οἱ ἴδιοι αὐτὸν οὐκ παρέλαβον.*

Bhg IX, 11: *avajānanti māṃ mūḍhā mānuṣīṃ tanum āśritam*
paraṃ bhāvam ajānanto mama bhūtamaheśvaram

John XIV, 17: *τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, ὃ ὁ κόσμος οὐ δύναται λαβεῖν, ὅτι οὐ θεωρεῖ αὐτὸ οὐδὲ γινώσκει · ὑμεῖς γινώσκετε αὐτό, ὅτι παρ' ὑμῖν μένει καὶ ἐν ὑμῖν ἔσται.*

Bhg VII, 25: *nāhaṃ prakāśaḥ sarvasya yogamāyāsamāvṛtaḥ*
mūḍho 'yaṃ nābhijānāti loko mām ajam avyayam

immutable.“ The notion of māyā, in this verse, is explained by R. Garbe[45] „in the technical sense of the vedāntic World-illusion“. On the other hand, Rudolf Otto[46] concludes: „A World-illusion is quite out of question. Yogamāyā means the creative power by the yoga, viz. by the yoga of the great yogin or māyin, i.e. of god. Yoga, originally the magic power, is here, as well as in several other passages, simply the wonderful power of god, manifested by his maya, i.e. by his world creatures.“

Garbe speaks about the vedantic unreality of the world because it is called *māyā;* Rudolf Otto apprehends the *māyā* as a real being because this term is applied to the world. Mid-way between Garbe and R. Otto is the opinion of Barnett[47] : *„Māyā* (of our author) is not Matter itself, as the Vedāntin believes, but the mode in which Matter, itself a profound verity is apprehended by the mind. It is the cosmic illusion of *Māyā,* the effect of the Lord's rule, that blinds the eyes of the unwise to the relation between the two eternal verities, Matter and Spirit (VII, 14, 15) ... And as Matter itself is to the Lord as clay in the potter's hand, He moulds it to wear this wondrous semblance, and joins to it His own Spirit, to create a world of darkness that light may dawn therein for the elect (VII, 25).“

In what respect the māyā blinds the eyes of the unvise is determined on the one hand positively - the foolish think that the Absolute has come from the unmanifest state to the manifestation - and, on the other hand, negatively: they do not know his higher being, immutable, supreme (VII, 24). Few understand the triple character of *Vāsudeva* as Absolute Being, World-Soul and World-Substance (VII, 24-30). Only those who turn to Bhagavat, know the Absolute in his unconditioned being (*brahma tat,* VII, 29) and in the phases of his conditioned being (*adhyātma, adhidaiva, adhibhūta, adhiyajña,* VII, 29-30.[48])

This medley of brāhmanic monism, sāṃkhyan dualism and popular worship of a personal god[49] stands in complete contrast to the doctrine of the Gospel. Jesus promises to the Apostles the Paraclete (XIV, 16, 26; XV, 26; XVI, 7) the Spirit of truth (XIV, 17; XV, 26; XVI, 13), the Holy Ghost (XIV, 26) : „If you love me keep my commandments. And I will ask the Father, and he shall give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever. The Spirit of truth, whom the world cannot receive, because it seeth him not, nor knoweth him: but you shall know him; because he shall abide with you, and shall be in you“ (XIV, 15-17). This abiding of the Spirit of truth in the heart of the Apostles is not meant as an immanence of the Absolute in created beings: the Spirit does not dwell in all beings, the world can not receive him (XIV, 17), Jesus promises the Paraclete to his Apostles only (XlV, 16). The promised Spirit is a gift („he shall give you“ XIV, 16), which will be manifested as the knowing of the truth („he will teach you“ XIV, 26; cf. XV 26; „he will teach you all truth“ XV, 13; cf. X, 20; Luc. XII, 12).

No other parallelism exists between the texts John I, 10-11 and Bhg IX, 11. Bhagavat asserts: „Fools scorn me when I dwell in human form: my higher being they know not as Great Lord of beings“ (Bhg IX, 11). In what sense Bhagavat is the Great Lord of beings, is explained immediately: while bewildered men despise

[45] Garbe R. Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 23.
[46] Otto R., Die Lehrtraktate der Bhagavadgītā. Tübingen 1935, p. 35.
Otto R., Der Sang des Hehr-Erhabenen. Stuttgart 1935, p. 10-13.
[47] Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 78-79.
[48] Cf. Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 76-77, 191.
[49] Cf. Barnett L. D., The Bhagavadgītā. London 1936, p. 52, 71.

Bhagavat because they do not know his higher being, great-hearted men worship him, because they know that Bhagavat is the source of beings (IX, 13). For, in the preceding verses, Bhagavat spoke about the emanation of all born beings from his nature (*prakṛti,* IX, 7, 8) and about the reabsorption of the universe in the same prakṛti. The *avatāra,* the human form of Bhagavat, is only a special case of the emanation from Bhagavat's nature (IV, 6; IX, 8-10). Bhagavat's being (*bhāva*, IX, 11), the source and the end of all universe is, therefore, rightly called the Great Lord of beings. This character of Bhagavat must be known in order to win release from mortal existences; the discernment of the essential unity of the world with the Absolute is the very substance of salutary knowledge (cf. XIII, 27). This discernment is a result of the endeavour of man himself. Who tries to reach salutary knowledge, is styled „wise"; on the other hand, who does not recognize the fundamental unity of beings, is a „man of little wit" (VII, 23), „senseless" (VII, 24), „deluded" (VII, 25; IX, 11), „vain of knowledge, void of wit" (IX, 12).

No such knowledge is required in the Gospel where Jesus speaks about „believing in the name" of the Word (John I, 12), „believing in the name of the only begotten Son of God" (John III, 18). This faith is an act of will, it is the „receiving" of the Word (I, 12); unbelief is „hating the light" (III, 20), thus being an act of will which refuses to „receive" the Word (I, 11), because „men loved darkness rather than the light" (III, 19). Faith as an act of will has its sanctions: „As many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name" (I, 12); „but he that doth not believe is already judged" (III, 18). The fundamental character of faith in the Gospel, however is the part of God's grace; those who believe in the name of the Word, „are born not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (I, 13); they received of the fulness of the Word, „and grace for grace" (John I, 16).

The lack of any monistic thought and the emphasis laid on the absolute necessity of the God's grace in the act of faith are the characteristics constituting the essential difference between the faith which is required by Jesus and the salutary knowledge which is exalted by Bhagavat in the Bhagavadgītā.

Some parallels, constructed by Hopkins, are too loose and do not prove anything. He compares: „I know whence I came, ... but ye know not" John VIII, 14; „I have come through many births and thou also; I know them all, thou knowest them not" Bhg IV, 5[50] (ION 156).

The difference between the thought of the texts is evident. What is stressed in the words of Kṛṣṇa is the circumstance that Kṛṣṇa himself is conscious of his preceding existences, while Arjuna does not know them. Kṛṣṇa is not distinguished from Arjuna by the fact itself of the preceding existences, but by the knowledge, or ignorance respectively thereof.

On the contrary, the thought of Jesus points to the singular and absolutely exceptional character of his origin; it is this exceptional origin of Jesus that gives a peculiar efficacy to his testimony about himself: „Although I give testimony of

[50] The texts read:
John VIII, 14: *κἂν ἐγὼ μαρτυρῶ περὶ ἐμαυτοῦ, ἀληθής ἐστιν ἡ μαρτυρία μου, ὅτι οἶδα πόθεν ἦλθον καὶ ποῦ ὑπάγω · ὑμεῖς δὲ οὐκ οἴδατε πόθεν ἔρχομαι ἢ ποῦ ὑπάγω.*
Bhg IV, 5: *bahūni me vyatītāni janmāni tava cārjuna*
tāny ahaṃ veda sarvāṇi na tvaṃ vettha Paraṃtapa

myself, my testimony is true: for I know whence I came, and whither I go: but you know not whence I come, or whither I go“ (John VIII, 14). Jesus does not need any witness to attest his assertions: he came from God; the authority of God himself, of the absolute Truth, confirms his words: „You are from beneath, I am from above. You are of this world, I am not of this world“ (John VIII, 23). „For from God I proceeded, and came; for I came not of myself, but he sent me“ (John VIII, 42).

Hopkins, followed by Deussen[51] also compares other verses from the same passages: „The Jews therefore said unto him: „Thou art not yet fifty years old and hast thou seen Abraham?“ John VIII, 57; (He said to Krishna) „Thy birth is later, earlier was the birth of Vivasvat; how then may I understand that thou hast declared this in the beginning?“ Bhg IV, 4[52] (ION 156).

Bhagavat does not aim to express, by his pre-existence, any prerogative of his own, a prerogative by which he would be distinguished from Arjuna; the latter himself passed through many existences (IV, 5). Bhagavat stresses only his consciousness of all his preceding existences. The question of Arjuna offers a suggestion or extending the idea of the avatāras but this idea itself was no new doctrine,[53] Arjuna, therefore, accepts the words of Bhagavat without any surprise.

On the contrary, in the Gospel, the words of the Jews testify that there is a surprising matter in question : „Now we know that thou hast a devil. Abraham is dead, and the prophets; and thou sayest: „If any man keep my word, he shall not taste death for ever. Art thou greater than our father Abraham, who is dead? and the prophets are dead. Whom dost thou make thyself?“ (John VIII, 52-53). Jesus answered: „Abraham your father rejoiced that he might see my day: he saw it, and was glad.“ The Jews therefore said to him: „Thou art not yet fifty years old, and hast thou seen Abraham?“ Jesus said to them: „Amen, amen, I say to you, before Abraham was made, I am“ (John VIII, 56-58). By these words of Jesus, the Jews are irritated to the highest degree. Their hot passion does not find words, any more: „They took up stones therefore to cast at him“ (John VIII, 59).

The Gospel could not express the newness of the thought, the absolutely exceptional character of the origin of Jesus, in a more simple and at the same time more effective way.

Lastly, Hopkins compares: „My father worketh even until now, and I work“ John V, 17; „There is nothing for me to attain and yet I remain at work“ Bhg III, 22[54] (ION 155-156).

The whole verse Bhg III, 22 reads : „For me is no work at all in the three worlds that I must do; nor aught ungained that I must gain; yet I abide in work.“ For this

[51] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, p. 29.

[52] The texts read:

John VIII,57-58: *εἶπαν οὖν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι πρὸς αὐτόν · πεντήκοντα ἔτη οὔπω ἔχεις καὶ Ἀβραὰμ ἑώρακας; εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Ἰησοῦς · ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν, πρὶν Ἀβραὰμ γενέσθαι ἐγὼ εἰμί.*

Bhg IV, 4: *aparaṃ bhavato janma paraṃ janma Vivasvataḥ*
katham etad vijānīyāṃ tvam ādau proktavān iti

[53] See ex. gr. Barnett L. D., recension of the translation of the Bhagavadgītā by W. D. P. Hill. The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London 1929, p. 127.
Cf. also: Aurobindo, Avatarhood in the Gītā. Kalyana Kalpataru, IV, 1. Gorakhpur 1937, p. 18-26. The avatāra of Kṛṣṇa is effected, of course, by ātmamāyā (Bhg IV, 6), not by the karma.

[54] The texts read:

John V, 17: *ὁ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο αὐτοῖς · ὁ πατήρ μου ἕως ἄρτι ἐργάζεται, κἀγὼ ἐργάζομαι.*

Bhg III, 22: *na me Pārthāsti kartavyaṃ triṣu lokeṣu kiṃcana*
nānavāptam avāptavyaṃ varta eva ca karmaṇi

thought, the reasons are indicated immediately: „For if I were not, tireless, to abide ever in work - my path men follow altogether - did I not work my work, these worlds would fall in ruin, and I should be the worker of confusion, and should destroy these creatures" (Bhg III, 23-24). So, the working of Bhagavat is a condition of the maintainance of the world. But does Bhagavat work, in this case, as a physical or as a moral cause? In the immediate context, a moral influence is asserted : „Whatever the best man does, that too do other men; that which he makes his standard the world follows" (Bhg III, 21). In other passages, the Bhagavadgītā suggests the physical influence exercised by Bhagavat as the sustainer of the world (*bhūtabhṛt,* IX, 5; cf. VII 5, 7; IX, 6; XV, 13, 17); he is the physical and psychic substratum of the universe (VII, 4-12; IX, 4-10), he is the immanent principle (*yena sarvam idaṃ tatam,* II, 17; VIII, 22; IX, 4; XVIII, 46), on which all beings are strung as rows of gems upon a thread (VII, 7).

The simple, lapidary word of Jesus : „I work" has nothing in common with the monism and immanentism of the Bhagavadgītā. Jesus works wonders in the same way as his Father: he heals the infirm (John V, 6-15), gives life to whom he will (V, 21) and will pass judgment on the whole world (V, 22-29); he is the Lord of the life and death like his Father (V, 21). In short, the Son „works" as his Father worketh until now (V, 17), even on the sabbath.

Hopkins' conclusions concerning the parallelism of the Gītā with the Gospel were too exaggerated to have followers. Deussen[55] considers as parallel only three passages: Bhg IV, 4 with John VIII, 57-58; Bhg IX, 29 with John XIV, 20; Bhg IX, 32 with Gal. III, 28. In the first and second case, Deussen follows Hopkins. In the third case, universalism is, in Deussen's view, a parallel character both of Kṛṣṇism and of Christianism. This resemblance, however, is too loose to imply any dependence, or, in general, to lead to any far-reaching conclusion.

The texts read: „There is neither Jew, nor Greek: there is neither bond nor free: there is neither male, nor female. For you are all one in Christ Jesus" Gal. III, 28. - „For even those, who are born of the womb of sin - women, *vaiśyas,* and *śūdras* too - if they resort to me, go on the highest way" Bhg IX, 32.[56]

What these texts have in common is the newness of the thought. Farquhar[57] says about the universalism of the Bhagavadgītā: „The Upanishads as taught in the Vedic schools offered release only to the three highest castes, for these holy texts might not be uttered in the hearing of any but the twice-born; the heterodox religions - Buddhism and Jainism, on the other hand, offered release to all, to Outcasts and foreigners as well as to Hindus of the four castes, and to women as well as men; but the Gītā takes a middle course, offering release to all Hindus, i.e. to men and women of the four castes but to no others. It is noticeable that these are precisely the bounds of the sect; all Hindus of the four castes were admitted to Vaishṇava, as to other Hindu, temples."

Far from exaggerating the literal resemblances of the texts, modern scholars prefer to compare some fundamental ideas of the Bhagavadgītā and of the New Testament.

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[55] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, p. XIV, 29, 66, 67.

[56] The texts read:

Gal. III,28: *οὐκ ἔνι Ἰουδαῖος οὐδὲ Ἕλλην, οὐκ ἔνι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος, οὐκ ἔνι ἄρσεν καὶ θῆλυ · πάντες γὰρ ὑμεῖς εἷς ἐστε ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ.*

Bhg IX, 32: *māṃ hi Pārtha vyapāśritya ye 'pi syuḥ pāpayonayaḥ*
striyo vaiśyās tathā śūdrās te 'pi yānti parāṃ gatim

[57] Farquhar J. N., An Outline of the Religious Literature of India. London 1920, p. 87.

H. W. Schomerus[58] enumerates as common to both religions: theism, the idea of a god-man, the doctrine of the divine love and the claim of a loving devotion to god. These conceptions, in Schomerus' opinion, are no foreign ideas in India: they are a result of the native intellectual evolution. They appear in India before the Christian era and if they give a Christian semblance to the Bhagavadgītā, this semblance is mere illusion; there is no reason to resort to Christian influence.

R. Garbe[59] restricts the number of parallel ideas to two: l. the belief in divine love and its consequences, viz. the doctrine of the grace and of the remission of sins; 2. the claim of a devoted love to god. In short, two ideas are in question: bhakti and prasāda as parallel to Christian *ἀγάπη* and *χάρις*.

The Bhagavadgītā is rightly called a Great Song of *bhakti.* It is the *bhakti* that forms the very centre of the work, endows it with a mystic character and explains its incomparable influence upon the souls of Hindus for nearly twenty centuries.

The notion of the *bhakti,* as it occurs in the Bhagavadgītā, is determined by Bhandarkar[60] as simply „love of god"; Garbe[61] says more exactly: „faithful and trustful love of god"; Lamotte[62] defines it still more completely: *„bhakti* consists in serving and loving God with an exclusive and incessant devotion".

Apart from the Bhagavadgītā, the word bhakti in the sense of „devotion to deity" occurs in Śvetāśvatara Up. VI, 23.[63] In the opinion of R. Garbe[64], Pāṇini is also a witness that the word *bhakti,* commonly used in the sense of „love, attachment" (Pāṇini IV, 3, 95, 96) began to be applied to the sphere of the relations of man to the deity. Pāṇini (IV, 3, 98) uses the term with relation to Vāsudeva; this fact must be considered as proof that the term began to be conceived in the sense of „love for the deity". The way in which Patañjali understands this passage confirms that the term *bhakti* in the sense „love for deity" was in common use in the 2nd century B. C. This opinion seems to Garbe to be put beyond any doubt by the Bhagavadgītā itself; this work speaks about *bhakti* on nearly every page as about something quite obvious: this is not the way in which new ideas are preached. Thus, Garbe concludes, the doctrine of *bhakti* was certainly spread among the devotees of Kṛṣṇa centuries before the formation of the original Bhagavadgītā.

As to the feeling which forms its contents, surely *bhakti* was familiar among Indians of yore. Bhandarkar[65] is right in pointing out that a similar idea to that expressed in the bhakti is represented also by the words *priya, preya* in the Upanishads (Bṛh. Up. I, 4, 8); in Bṛh. Up. IV, 4, 22, the wise men of old are described who gave up all the pleasures of the world to contemplate and dwell with

[58] Schomerus H. W. Indien und das Christentum. II: Das Ringen des Christentums um das indische Volk. Halle-Saale 1932, p. 23-28.

[59] Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 244.

[60] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühlers Grundriß III, 6), Straßburg 1913, p. 28.

[61] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 63. Similarly Otto R., Die Urgestalt der Bhg., Tübingen 1934, p. 30.

[62] Lamotte E., Notes sur la Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1929, p. 120.

[63] Hopkins (India Old and New, p. 148) understands the word bhakti in this Upanishad in the sense of „devotion to a fearful God". On the other hand, Bhandarkar (Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 29), Hill (Bhg, p. 50), Garbe (Bhg, p. 40; Indien u. d. Christentum, p. 252) and Oldenberg (Die Lehre der Up., p. 242) interpret the word bhakti in this Upanishad in the same sense as in Bhg: „love, devotion to god".

[64] Garbe R., Bhagavadgītā. 2. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 34-35; 44-45. Garbe R., Indien und das Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 251-252.

[65] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc., (Bühler's Grundriß, III, 6 , Straßburg 1913, p. 28.)

the Supreme Being: they were certainly actuated by love for him, though the word *bhakti* does not occur in the text. And the *upāsanā,* the fervent meditation of a number of things, such as *manas* (mind), the sun, the *puruṣa* in the sun or the moon, food, vital breath etc., regarded as brahma, such a fervent meditation could not but magnify the thing and give it a glorious form, so as to excite admiration and love.[66] It is worthy of notice too, that, in the translation of Deussen,[67] the same expression „Verehrung" is used persistingly as a rendering of *bhakti* in the Bhagavadgītā as well as of the derivatives from the radix *upās-* in Chānd. Up. and in Bṛh. Up. Oldenberg[68] does not hesitate to translate by the same expression (Verehrung) even the name *upaniṣad* (Chānd. I, 1, 10; III, 11, 3; Bṛh. IV, 2, 1 etc.).

The author of the Bhagavadgītā, enraptured by love for his deity, has clothed in a new form the religious feeling which was experienced and praised in as early times as the origin of the hymns of the Ṛgveda. When the poet exclaims: „Dyaus is my Father, my begetter" (ṚV I, 164, 33), „Aditi is the Mother and the Sire and Son" (ṚV I, 89, 10), certainly his heart was filled with a profound devotion and inflamed by an ardent love for god. For that reason, Bhandarkar,[69] Garbe[70] and Senart[71] are right in tracing the roots of the bhakti to the times of Veda; in truth, the general idea of love for a merciful deity existed in India of old, as, in general, love for god is found wherever the belief in merciful deities appears. *Bhakti,* to use the words of Barth,[72] was quite capable of realizing itself in India as it has done elsewhere in its own time, and independently of all Christian influence, in the religions of Osiris, Adonis, Cybele, and Bacchus.

The correlative idea to *bhakti* is *prasāda,* the divine grace. In the Bhagavadgītā, the derivatives from the radix *prasad-* occur in the common sense of „to be appeased, to be clear or serene" (II, 65; XVIII, 54), and the noun *prasāda* designates simply tranquillity, composure, absence of excitement, clearness, serenity of the mind (II, 64, 65; XVII, 16; XVIII, 37). In the XVIIIth chapter, however, the word is used in the sense of grace (XVIII, 56, 58, 62, 73, 75) and in the XIth chapter the derivatives from the radix *prasad-,* too, appear with a similar character: to be gracious, propitious (XI, 25, 31, 44, 45).

To the devotee who relies on Bhagavat, grace is promised to attain the everlasting and changeless seat (XVIII, 56); fixing his thought on Bhagavat, the devotee will by his grace surmount all difficulties (XVIII, 58). The Lord dwells in the heart of every being, Arjuna has to seek his refuge in him alone: „In him alone seek refuge with all thy being, by his grace shalt thou win to peace supreme, the eternal resting place" (XVIII, 62). In the last verses of the Bhagavadgītā, Arjuna renders thanks to Bhagavat for the grace by which he has gained remembrance (XVIII, 73) and Saṃjaya, in his concluding words, ascribes to the grace of Vyāsa the hearing of the supreme secret (XVIII, 75).

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[66] See Bhandarkar, op. cit., p. 28.

[67] Deussen P., Der Gesang des Heiligen. Leipzig 1911, p. 57, 59, 64, 66, 85, 91 et al. Deussen P., Sechzig Upanishads. 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 68, 148-151, 395, 397, 457 et al.

[68] Oldenberg H., Die Lehre der Upanishaden und die Anfänge des Buddhismus. 2. Aufl. Göttingen 1923, p. 134-138, 301 note 101.

[69] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc., Straßburg 1913, p. 28.

[70] Garbe R., Indien u. d. Christentum. Tübingen 1914, p. 250.

[71] Senart E., La Bhagavadgītā. Paris 1922, p. 35.

[72] Barth A., The Religions of India. Authorized translation by J. Wood. London 1932, p. 220-22l.

In other passages of the Bhagavadgītā also, Bhagavat appears as a gracious, propitious deity: he is stated to be friend of every being (V, 29), Arjuna calls him the Father of this world, of all that moves and that does not move (XI, 43); the man of knowledge is declared to be dear to the deity (VII, 17), and, in the XIIth chapter, is enumerated a long series of the qualities of the ascetics who have abandoned the world and dedicated their being to the deity only; they are dear to Bhagavat, *sa me priyaḥ* is the echo of each verse (XII, 13-20). Those worshippers are lifted by Bhagavat from the ocean of the mortal existences (XII, 7). Arjuna also is a devotee who is exceedingly loved by Bhagavat; for that reason, Bhagavat reveals his highest word to him, teaches him the way of salvation (XVIII, 64-65) and promises him release from all sins (XVIII, 66). However, nobody on earth is dearer to Bhagavat than the man who will announce the mystery of Bhagavat's word to his votaries (XVIII, 69).

Apart from the Bhagavadgītā, the word *prasāda* in the sense of grace occurs in Kaṭh. Up. I, 2, 20 and in Śvet. Up. III, 20 where the recognition of the Lord (Īśa, Śvet. Up.) and of the ātman (Kaṭh. Up.) are declared to be the effect of divine grace; but the uncertain reading of the texts *(dhātuprasādāt* or *dhātuḥprasādāt)* does not enable any conclusion to be reached concerning the doctrine of divine grace.[73] In the concluding words of the Śvet. Up., the author confesses that knowledge of the brahma was revealed to him through the power of his penance and through the grace of god (Śvet. Up. VI, 21). In Kaṭh. Up. II, 23 (and Muṇḍ. Up. III, 2, 3), we are told that the *ātman* cannot be attained except by one whom he himself chooses: before such a man, the *ātman* reveals his proper form. This is the doctrine of grace, but the term prasāda is not found in this passage. In the opinion of Bhandarkar,[74] the doctrine of the divine grace occurs also in Kauṣītakī Up. III, 8, where we learn that the *ātman* himself leads a man to do good deeds, whom he desires to elevate, and in Bṛh. Ār. Up. III, 7 where it is stated that the *ātman* is the *antaryāmin* of the universe: he lives inside and governs all beings from within: „He is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought thinker, the ununderstood understander ... He is thy Soul, the inner controller, the immortal. Everything beside Him is naught." From these words, Bhandarkar deduces that the doctrine that the individual soul is dependent on the Supreme and that the latter alone works out his salvation, was acknowledged in Upanishad times. Indeed, tracing the most remote indications of divine favour, Bhandarkar[75] can extend his investigation even to the most ancient times: if the poet of the Ṛgveda calls the deity his father (RV I, 164, 33; cf. I, 89, 10), the correlative idea to his love for the deity cannot but be the love of the deity for man, a love which is manifested by divine grace. And the ardent relation of the Supreme to the individual soul which is compared to the attachment of two birds, friends and companions of each other (ṚV I, 164, 20 ; Muṇḍ. Up. VII, 1, 1) has its basis in the same feeling which forms the contents of the bhakti, and in the same divine favour which is manifested by prasāda. To these passages, other words of Ṛgveda can be joined; Hopkins[76] quotes the promise of the divinized Speech: „I make the man I love exceeding mighty, make him a sage, Ṛishi, and a Brahman" (ṚV X, 125, 5). Hopkins is right in noting that the general idea of the grace of god as a special favour is as old as

[73] See Deussen P., Sechzig Up., 3. Aufl. Leipzig 1921, p. 274.
[74] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler's Grundriß, III, 6), Straßburg 1913, p. 29.
[75] Bhandarkar R. G., Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism etc. (Bühler's Grundriß, III, 6), Straßburg 1913, p. 28.
[76] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, p. 147, note 1.

the belief in the gods who can show favours. Naturally, only the general idea of the divine grace as well as the general idea of the love for god. The technical words are formed when the contents of the ideas are strictly determined. The notion of *bhakti* a feature of Buddhism, was introduced into kṛṣṇism and the loving devotion to the great master who was a real personality was simply transferred to the sectarian god whose rise in dignity was contemporary with the first political rebuff experienced by Buddhism.[77] And the word *prasāda,* used at first only in the sense of calmness or graciousness, not of god toward a sinner but of a man's own mind, in the Bhagavadgītā and in the later Upanishads was applied to the sphere of the relations between the Supreme and man and changed into a religious term to express divine grace.[78]

Consequently, *bhakti* and *prasāda* are native facts, in India. If the old and the oldest texts have little space for the expression of fervent religious feelings, this can by no means be considered as proof that the religious sentiment was less intensive than in later times. Eliade[79] is right in stressing the fact that the later texts sometimes reflect the ideas and the customs far more ancient but rigorously kept out of the older texts. The faint traces of the feelings which were in later texts clothed in the notions of *bhakti* and *prasāda,* furnish only evidence of how slowly and how unwillingly the official orthodox religion made concessions to the religiousness of common people who were trying to moderate the formalistic brahmanism and the cold speculations of the Upanishads by the claim of a fervent love to god, a love, which is answered by the favour bestowed by the deity on his devotees.

But *bhakti* and prasāda are native facts not only as to their origin: in their whole contents, too, there is nothing that would be foreign to Indian thought. These two ideas reflect better than any other notions the Hindu conception of the Absolute as transcendent and immanent simultaneously. For the Hindus, theism and pantheism are no contradictions that preclude each other, but different attempts to dive into the unfathomable nature of god. The Indian mind can think of god as a personality whose grace can be attained to by pious devotion, and at the same time as the substance of the world that permeates all things internally. The Hindu does not distinguish between the theistic ubiquity of a personal God and the pantheistic immensity of an impersonal Absolute. The Absolute, in the view of the Hindu, is essentially identical with the relative: tat tvam asi. Therefore, salvation cannot mean for him an elevation into a new, supernatural order; salvation consists in the purification of the natural order itself by the fire of knowledge *(jñāna),* self-control *(yoga)* and devotion *(bhakti).* Who, by these ways, has removed any impurity of ignorance, egoism and prejudices, attains or, more precisely, realizes the harmony of the individual and the cosmic soul, experiences the unity of all beings.

What is the part of Bhagavat and of his grace in the work of the salvation of man? Age after age, he comes into birth in order to guard the righteous and to destroy the evildoers and to confirm the law (Bhg IV, 8), consequently, to help men in maintaining the natural order, not to establish a new, supernatural order. He bestows his grace *(prasāda)* on men for the purpose of surmounting all difficulties (XVIII, 58) which might check man in realizing the way of salvation. All hindrances being removed and the way of salvation realized, its efficacy appears imme-

[77] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, p. 149.
[78] Hopkins E. W., India Old and New. New York-London 1902, p. 147.
[79] Eliade Mircea, Yoga. Paris-Bucarest 1936, p. 121 et passim.

diately, ex opere operato: it is sufficient if a man, even though he be of a very evil life, conceives right resolves (IX, 30), sets his mind on Bhagavat (IX, 34): the act of *bhakti* is accomplished (IX, 31), the man comes to the supreme goal (IX, 32, 34) i.e. experiences the unity of all beings and dwells in the Absolute: „Whoso, intent on unity, devoutly worships me as dwelling in every being, in whatsoever state he may abide, that ascetic abides in me“ (Bhg VI, 31). „Through devotion does he recognize me in verity, what and who I am; then, knowing me in verity, at once he enters into me“ (XVIII, 55). Thus, the effort of man and the help of Bhagavat were necessary only in order to prepare the realizing of the bhakti: they are no integrant components of the bhakti itself.

The grace *(prasāda)* of Bhagavat is neither a gift elevating man to a new, supernatural order, nor a physically necessary cooperation of the deity to the salutary works in a supernatural order, but the simple help of Bhagavat in realizing the way of salvation within the natural order. There is a question if this help of the deity is to be understood as morally necessary, at least. In the view of Masson-Oursel,[80] any similar idea was remote from the mentality of the old Hindus: an Indian ascetic from and by his own faculties dominates his vital powers and attains release from the bonds of mortal existences. For the Hindu, nothing is more natural than the immanence of the Absolute in the relative: the grace is the nature itself provided that man is able to escape the error of looking upon the relative as the Absolute. The immanentism as the fundamental character of the Indian ways of salvation is confirmed also by the evolution of the technical word prasāda itself: *prasāda* which designates, in later times, the grace of the knowledge or of the divine help, originally only expressed a certain effort of the human forces, a self-domination which is necessary to surmount the inordinate excitements of the mind and passions. The tranquillity and the serene state of the mind, which are the result of such an endeavour, were conceived as a merely human achievement; only as a secondary meaning, they received the character of the divine help to be implored from the deities. *Prasāda* in the sense of divine grace was never conceived as a gratuitous gift of the deity: the cultivated ascetism of a bhakta enforces divine assistance with nearly the same necessity as the brahmanic rite impels the hand of the devas to make the movement which is wanted by the priest. The favour of the deity, which is manifested by the *prasāda,* is as little a voluntary intervention as a supernatural effect or a wonder. Even the part of the leading men in natural evolution was conceived as a natural law: the incarnations of the deities or buddhas were apprehended as avatāras, necessarily inserted in the cosmic evolution.

In medieval hinduism, theistic systems appeared bearing a resemblance to the Jewish, Christian and Mohammedan theism. In that time, and only in that time, two conceptions of grace are formed: god, it is said, seizes the soul and saves it, just as a cat carries away its little ones far from danger (argument from the cat); and, in another conception, the soul seizes hold of god and saves itself by him just as the young one of the monkey escapes from danger by clinging on to the side of its mother (argument from the monkey). These theories of a late date can be partially explained by the Christian and Mohammedan influences. As far as India remained faithful to her old ideal, she was too much attached to the conception of

[80] Masson-Oursel P., Die Gnadenlehre im religiösen Denken Indiens. Eranos Jahrbuch 1936. Zürich 1937, p. 129-130.

salvation in the sense of immanence to admit a supernatural influence of her deities on the natural order.[81]

In complete contrast with such a conception of salvation, the Christian doctrine is an emphasized assertion of the supernatural order to which man must be born again and in which every salutary work absolutely depends upon divine grace. Jesus says: „Unless a man be born again of water and the Holy Ghost, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God" (John III, 5). But „the Spirit breatheth where he will" (John III, 8) and the Son giveth life to whom he will" (John V, 21); consequently, the life which is given by Jesus to the elect depends upon divine grace in principle as well as in every manifestation: „Without me you can do nothing" (John XV, 5), says Jesus to the Apostles and reminds them: „You have not chosen me, but I have chosen you and have appointed you, that you should go, and should bring forth fruit" (John XV, 16).

Charity [ἀγάπη] is a gift of God: „The charity of God is poured forth in our hearts, by the Holy Ghost who is given to us" (Rom. V, 5). Charity is a virtue by which man is made a friend of God and a house of God: „If any one love me, he will keep my word, and my Father will love him, and we will come to him, and will make our abode with him" (John XIV, 23). „God is charity, and he that abideth in charity abideth in God, and God in him" (I. of St. John IV, 16). „Charity is of God. And every one that loveth is born of God, and knoweth God" (I. of St. John IV, 7). By charity, man becomes a son of God, man is like to God himself: „Behold what manner of charity the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called, and should be the sons of God ... Dearly beloved, we are now the sons of God; and it hath not yet appeared what we shall be. We know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like to him: because we shall see him as he is" (I. of St. John III, 1-2). The dignity of the sons of God is an elevation, a regeneration from God: „As many as received him, he gave them power to be made the sons of God, to them that believe in his name. Who are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God" (John I, 12-13).

Being a gratuitous gift of God, charity cannot be gained by the endeavour of man himself; nevertheless, human effort is not made superfluous, thereby; on the contrary, the charity of God expects and requires the cooperation of man: „Abide in my love. If you keep my commandments, you shall abide in my love" (John XV, 9-10). In another passage, Jesus urges: „If you love me keep my commandments" (John XIV, l5, 21, 23, 24). Good works are the very proof of love for God: „He that hath my commandments, and keepeth them: he it is that loveth me" (John XIV, 21).

The grace [χάρις] through which man is born of the Spirit (John III, 8), is a supernatural gift bestowed gratuitously by the Holy Ghost: „That which is born of the flesh, is flesh: and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit. Wonder not, that I said to thee, you must be born again. The Spirit breatheth where he will: and thou hearest his voice, but thou knowest not whence he cometh and whither he goeth: so is every one that is born of the Spirit" (John III, 6-8). Man is not able to obtain divine grace by his deeds: „Even so then at this present time also, there is a remnant saved according to the election of grace. And if by grace, it is not now by works, otherwise grace is no more grace" (Rom. XI, 5-6). God freely bestows his grace, „he hath mercy on whom he will, and, whom he will he hardeneth" (Rom. IX, 18).

[81] See Masson-Oursel P., Die Gnadenlehre im religiösen Denken Indiens. Eranos Jahrbuch 1936. Zürich 1937, p. 131-133.

Divine grace, a supernatural gift of God, has also supernatural effects: „Whosover is born of God, committeth not sin: for his seed abideth in him“ (I. of St. John III, 9). In the second epistle of St. Peter, this effect is described more explicitly: „He hath given us most great and precious promises: that by these you may be made partakers of the divine nature (II. of St. Peter I, 4).

Grace, the gratuitous gift of the transcendent God, as the way of salvation, is necessarily exclusive. The transcendent Absolute is to be attained by the way determined by Himself. In the bestowed grace, God gives Himself as the way of the salvation: „I am the way, and the truth, and the life. No man cometh to the Father but by me“ (John XIV, 6). „If any one abide not in me: he shall be cast forth as a branch, and shall wither, and they shall gather him up, and cast him into the fire, and he burneth“ (John XV, 6).

No trace of such a conception of the love for God and of divine grace occurs in the Bhagavadgītā. The *bhakti* and the *prasāda,* as preached in the Gita, are too deeply rooted in immanentism to represent a supernatural gift of god. The external form in which the ideas are clothed, the diction of the Bhagavadgītā and of the New Testament, may sometimes wipe out the discrepances between the East and the West, but the hearts of the adherents of both religions live quite different lives, their minds are inspired by disparate thoughts.[82]

Bhakti is no gratuitous gift of god, but the effect of a purely human endeavour; and *prasāda* does not mean any elevation into a supernatural order, but the help of the deity towards the realization of salvation within the natural order, a help, which is neither absolutely nor morally necessary. This help of the deity and the effort of man himself have their end in the realization of the way of salvation, the efficacy of which operates henceforth ex opere operato, without any dependance on the cooperation of the deity or of man. In accordance with this conception of the human and divine part in the work of the salvation, in the Bhagavadgītā the emotional devotion to a personal and transcendent deity is modified by the idea of an impersonal immanent Absolute: the doctrine of the *avatāra,* an incarnate Absolute, offers, thereby, a welcome connecting link between theism and pantheism. Bhakti, the ardent devotion to an incarnate deity, is, at the same time, a union with the universe, or, more precisely, an experiencing of the unity of all beings. Thus, after all, the *bhakti* is the return of man to the Absolute in man's own heart (Bhg VI, 31), it is a homage rendered by man to himself.

[82] See Otto Rudolf, Indiens Gnadenreligion und das Christentum. München 1930, p. 47.

II.

STUDIES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES

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HINDĪ PARTICIPLES USED AS SUBSTANTIVES

Marginal notes to the syntax of the imperfective and perfective participles in Hindī prose.[1]

Being verbal adjectives, the Hindī imperfective and perfective participles, as any other adjectives, can be used as substantives, and are, then, treated accordingly: they decline as a noun, and, in a sentence, they take the function of subject, object or attribute, or appear in an adverbial phrase.

E.g.: Maĩne to apnā man aisā samjhā liyā hai jaise koī nirmal jal se *nahāyā* kisī tel miṭṭī *lapeṭe hue* ke sāth parbas paṛ jāy athavā śuddh manuṣya ko aśuddh ke sāth, *jāgte hue* ko *sote ke* sāth aur svatantr ko bandhue ke sāth rahnā ho. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*.)[2]

Mahārāj kyā apne *kie ko* pachtāte ho? (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*.[3])

Yah apne *kiye kā* phal āp bhogegā. (*Greaves*.)[4]

Cāhiye to yah thā ki ve apne *kiye par* pachtāte magar ve ulṭe bigaṛ uṭhe. (*Premcand*.)[5]

Maĩ andhī thī jo tumhāre *kahe mẽ̃* ā gaī. (*Mohanlāl Nehrū*.[6])

When used as predicative adjunct (or as verbal attribute), the imperfective and perfective participle retains its adjectival force. Still, some hesitation can arise about the perfective participle of transitive verbs. Thus, in *Platts'* opinion, the participle *bhejā hūā* is used as substantive in the following sentence: *Sãp kā bhejā hūā āyā hũ̃.* His translation reads: „I am come as the *emissary* of the snake."[7] This is a loose translation. Literally, the meaning is : „I have come being *sent by* the snake."

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[1] The terms „present" and „past" participles have been avoided in this article, as the participles represent an action as not concluded (the imperfective participle) or concluded (and a state resulting therefrom: the perfective participle), whatever be the time of the action (or state).

For the „conjunctive participle", the term „transgressive" has been chosen in order to seclude in terminology the both verbal adjectives (viz. the imperfective and perfective participles) from the verbal form which is no adjective and is closely related to adverb.

In Hindī grammatical terminology, too, the imperfective and perfective participles are taken apart from the transgressive: *kriyādyotak sājñā* (imperfective participle), *karmavācak sājñā* (perfective participle), *pūrvakālik kriyā* (transgressive, i.e. „conjunctive participle").

[2] *Rājā Lakṣmaṇsīh*-anuvādit Śakũtalā nāṭak (sāpādak *Śyāmsũdardās*), 10. sāskaraṇ, Prayāg 1931, p. 71. - (In further quotations, abbreviated: *Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā.)

[3] *Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 75.

[4] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 226, p. 261. The above sentence is quoted by Greaves under the headline: „The Participle agreeing with the Accusative, etc. in Gender and Number." This applies indeed to the genitive *kiye kā* used as attribute of *phal*. In fact there is no participle „agreeing with the accusative" in the quoted sentence, but a participle used substantively in genitive case, viz, *apne kiye kā*, the nominative being *apnā kiyā*, 'own deed' (cf. *merā kahā*, 'my word'; *merā likhā*, 'my writ' etc.).

[5] *Premcand*, Jāgal kī kahāniyā̃. Navī bār. Banāras 1948, p. 25.

[6] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī ka talāq. *Sarasvatī*, navambar 1936, Prayāg 1936, p. 459.

[7] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 424, 2, b, p. 339. - Unfortunately, no later edition is available, in this country, at present. - Platts' explanation of the use of participles applies, in the main, to Hindī as well as to Urdū.

Taking the participle *bhejā huā* as substantive, *Platts* might have been impressed by the fact that the participle is extended by a genitive (*sā̃p kā*). But, leaving apart the fact that adjectives as *yogya*, *lāyaq* are generally extended by a genitive, the perfective participle of transitive verbs (in *Platts'* terminology: the „passive participle")[8] commonly appears in construction with a genitive, if an agent is to be expressed.

E.g. Rājā lāj *kā mārā* ghuṭne par sir rakhkar baiṭhā rahtā hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 90).

Kyā mātā *kā bhejā* Karabhak āyā hai? (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 32.)

(Śakũtalā) aisī ho gaī hai jaisī lapaṭ *kī mārī* camelī kī latā. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 37)

There can be no doubt about the adjectival force of the participles (*mārā*, *bhejā*, *mārī*), in these instances. Besides, it is to be seen that the passive meaning is expressed by the participle itself, no matter whether *huā*, *huī* is added or not. Therefore, *Platts* is not right in saying: „The addition of the participle *hūā* to another perfect participle ... converts it into a *passive* participle, if the verb be transitive."[9]

Indeed, the participle *huā*, *huī* may be added or omitted, and, instead of the genitive of the agent (postposition *kā*, *kī*, *ke*), the ablative of the agent (postposition *se*) may be employed:

E.g. Satāī huī nahī̃, yõ̃ kahiye ki sāsār *kī ṭhukrāī huī* ek anāth hũ̃ (*V. Ś. Vyās*.[10])

Maĩ sāsār *se ṭhukrāī huī* hũ̃. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 44.)

Maĩ bhī sāsār *kā satāyā huā* hũ̃. (*V. Ś. Vyās*; Aśānt, p. 44.)

Yah do prakār kā hotā hai - ek apne hāth *se likhā huā*, dūsrā dūsre ke hāth *kā likhā huā*. Apne hāth *se likhe hue* mẽ̃ sākṣī kī āvaśyaktā nahī̃ hotī thī. (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar.[11])

Kisī kā kuch jānnā = kisī *kā* sahāytārth *diyā huā* dhan *yā kiyā huā* upakār smaraṇ rakhnā; kisī *ke kie hue* upakār ke liye kṛtajña honā. (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar, II. p. 1149: 'jānnā'.)

From these instances, it is evident that the participle is used *adjectively* both in the attributive (*lapaṭ kī mārī camelī*) and in the predicative position (*maĩ sãsār se ṭhukrāī huī hũ̃*). The construction with a genitive or an ablative of the agent does not affect the adjectival force of the participle in any way (*maĩ sãsār se ṭhukrāī huī hũ̃*; *maĩ bhī sãsār kā satāyā huā hũ̃*). The participle *bhejā hūā* in the sentence quoted by *Platts* (*sā̃p kā bhejā hūā āyā hũ̃*) is a verbal adjective just as well as the participle *ṭhukrāī huī* in the sentence *maĩ sãsār se ṭhukrāī huī hũ̃*.

The „participle constructed absolutely"

Imperfective and perfective participles often appear in the masculine singular inflected form, irrespective of the gender and number of the subject of the participle.

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[8] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 167, p. 133.

[9] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 167, p. 133.

[10] Paṇḍit *Vinod Śākar Vyās*, Aśānt. Laheriyāsarāy 1984 V. (= Vikramasamvat), p. 43. - Abbrev.: *V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt.

[11] *Śyām Sundar Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar, II, p. 1149: 'jānapad'. - Single volumes: I, 1916; II, 1920; III, 1925; IV, 1928. Prayāg - Kāśī (Kāśī-nāgarī-pracāriṇī sabhā). - Abbrev.; *Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar.

By *Kellogg*, this is called „the participle absolute“,[12] by *Platts*, „participle constructed absolutely“.[13]

But, in a sentence like „*ham gāte gāte sītī haĩ*', quoted by *Platts* (Grammar H. U. L., § 421, 3, p. 335), or „*vah rote hue calā jātā thā*“, quoted by *Kellogg* (Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., § 754, Rem., p. 448), the participle (*gāte gāte*; *rote hue*) is as little „absolute“ as e.g. the adverb „*dhīre dhīre*“, if put on the place of these participles. *Greaves*[14] is right in reminding that the term „absolute participle“ ought to be confined to those cases in which the subject of the participle is different from the subject (or the direct object) of the main verb in the sentence.

Discussing the use of the participle in sentences like „*maĩ paṛhte rahũgā*“,*Tisdall* believes that „the participle in such cases is a noun, and *-kī ḥālat mẽ* is understood“.[15] In the same way, *Tisdall* (Grammar H. L., § 157, p. 113) explains the use of the participle „*liye hūe*“ in the sentence *Sipāhī us ᶜaurat ko liye hūe mere pās āyā*,'the sepoy came to me, bringing that woman'.

On the other hand, *Tisdall* (Grammar H. L. § 155, a, p. 113) admits that participle can be used adverbially: „In the oblique case the present participle is often used adverbially: as *vah kuch socte socte calā gayā*.“

Inconsistency is found in *Platts'* explanations, too. In the sentence *sārī rāt talaphte kaṭī*, he takes the participle *talaphte* as a participle „constructed absolutely in the locative singular, the postposition being suppressed; the subject of the imperfect participle is often omitted.“ His translation reads: „The whole night passed in restlessness (lit. 'I being agitated')." (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 421, 2, p. 333.)

But, in the sentence *asbāb hote* (= *hone par*) *tavakkul kẖūb nahĩ Platts* explains the participle *hote* as a substantive: „As an abstract substantive the imperfect participle is equivalent to the Gerund.“ (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 424, p. 338.) This time, his translation reads: „To be confident because of possessing (= the possession of) property is not well or becoming.“ (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 424, 2, a, p. 339.)

In fact, both the form and the function of the participles in question (*talaphte, hote*) are the same.

The difficulties of explaining the use of the „participle constructed absolutely“ are reflected in the words of *Platts* himself: „The subject is one of importance and its treatment in all existing grammars is most unsatisfactory. One of the most recent actually teaches that *līe* and *kīe* (viz. in sentences *sir nīce kīe khaṛā thā*; *pīr zan ko līe āyā*) are not perfect, or rather passive participles, but 'irregular forms of the conjunctive participle' and in the last two examples above (viz. *ek meṇḍak ko sẽp pakṛe hai*; *aždahā jo mũh basāre hai*) *pakṛe* and *basāre hai* are „forms of the perfect“ signifying 'has caught' and 'has opened'.“ (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., p. 334, footnote 1 to § 421, 2, b.)

[12] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, Allahabad-Calcutta-London 1876, § 596, 2, p. 312. - 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 2, p. 446. - Unfortunately, no later edition is available, in this country, at present.

[13] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 421, 2, 3, pg, 333-335; § 423, Pg. 337. - Abbrev.: *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L.

[14] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 223, p. 253. - Abbrev.: *Greaves*, Hindī Grammar.

[15] *W. St. Clair Tisdall*, A Conversation-Grammar of the Hindūstānī Language, London-Heidelberg 1911, § l84, p. 141. - Abbrev.: *Tisdall*, Grammar H. L.

In the following discussion, it will appear that the teachings condemned by *Platts* are by no means quite senseless.

It will be of some interest to quote the following words of *G. A. Grierson*, too, though directly applied to „Vernacular Hindostānī“: „More usually, this tense (viz. the imperfect) is formed as in Rājasthānī and sometimes in Braj Bhākhā, by conjugating an oblique verbal noun in *-e*, with the past tense of the verb substantive. This form also occurs in the Magahī dialect of Bihārī. Thus, *māre thā*, 'I, thou, or he was striking' literally, 'was on striking'; *māre the*, „we, you, they were striking“. Compare the Old English 'was a-striking'.“[16]

1. The „participle constructed absolutely“ with verbs of existence.

The imperfective and perfective participles, constructed „absolutely“ and related to the subject of the sentence, occur with verbs of existence (*honā*, *rahnā*, etc.).

E.g. Maĩ *paṛhte* rahũgā. (*Tisdall*, Grammar H. L., § 184, p. 141.)

Śīlā ek halke pīle rāg kī reśmī sāṛī *pahne hue* thī. Bhramar ek halke bādāmī rāg kā koṭ aur safed paijāmā *pahne* thā. (*Nāthsīh*.[17])

Kālā coġā *pahne* thā, mũh par kālī naqāb *ḍāle* thā aur hāth mẽ pistaul *liye* thā. (*Viśvambharnāth Śarmā, 'Kauśik'*.)[18]

Jo ādmī gubbāre kī rassī *pakṛe hue* thā, vah cīte ko apnī taraf ātā dekhkar betahāśā bhāgā. (*Premcand*.[19])

Rassī *pakṛe* raho, girogī nahĩ. (*V. Ś. Vyās*[20].)

Śeṣnāg sadā pṛthvī ko śir par *dhare* hī rahtā hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 67.)

Apart from the imperfective participle „constructed absolutely“ with *rahnā*, the imperfective participle *agreeing* in gender and number with its subject is used with *rahnā*, very often; indeed, this latter construction may be considered the rule:

Ayodhyā kī prajā *rotī* rah gaī. (*Hariścandr*.[21])

Satpuruṣõ kī abhilāśā, sadā uttam se uttam vastu pāne ke liye *baṛhtī rahtī* hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 117.)

Mānvatī jab tak pati ko dekh sakī, *dekhtī* rahī. (*Nāthsīh*, Uljhan, p. 52.)

Campā sab kuch cupcāp *suntī* rahī. (*Nāthsīh*, Uljhan, p. 131.)

Surakṣā samiti tathā anya samitiyã, upasamitiyã aur sãsthāẽ vārṣik tathā viśeṣ riporṭẽ sāmānya pariṣad ko *detī* rahtī haĩ tathā un par vicār *kartī* rahtī haĩ. (*Karuṇāśākar Paṇḍyā*.[22])

The perfective participle agreeing in gender and number with its subject occurs, too, in construction with verbs of existence.

The perfective participle of intransitive verbs:

Rādhā kī dhotī bhī *phaṭī* hai. (*Mohanlāl Nehrū*.[23])

[16] *G. A. Grierson*, Linguistic Survey of India, IX, l: Western Hindī and Pañjābī, Calcutta 1916, p. 215.
[17] *Śrīnāthsīh*, Uljhan, Prayāg 1934, p. 70-71.
[18] *Viśvambharnāth Śarmā 'Kauśik'*, Krāntikārī. *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, farvarī 1934, p. 170.
[19] *Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã, Banāras 1948, p. 17.
[20] Paṇḍit *Vinod Śākar Vyās*, Aśānt, Laheriyāsarāy 1984 V., p. 4.
[21] *Bhāratẽdu Śrīhariścandr* viracit Satyahariścandr nāṭak, Prayāg 1929, p. 36.
[22] *Karuṇāśākar Paṇḍyā*, Rāṣṭr-sāgh kī sāmānya pariṣad. *Viśva-darśan* I, 4, Dillī, navambar 1948, p. 42.
[23] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, navambar 1936, p. 457.

Mã̃ apne kamre mẽ̃ palãg par *leṭī huī* hai aur pitā jī unke pās *baiṭhe* haĩ. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*.[24])

Mã̃ kyõ̃ *soī huī* haĩ? (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*.[25])

Yah kaliyã̃ to abhī *khilī* bhī nahĩ̃ haĩ. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 88.)

Rānī Śaivyā *baiṭhī* hai aur ek sahelī baġal mẽ̃ khaṛī hai. (*Hariścandr*.[26])

When the participle is used without *huā*, *huī*, *hue* (*phaṭī hai*, *baiṭhe haĩ*, *khilī haĩ*, *baiṭhī hai*), there is no difference, *in form*, between this participial construction and the present perfective tense. However, there is a difference *in meaning*: by the participial construction the bare state is expressed, while by the perfective tense the state is denoted as resulting from a previous action. This difference was noticed by *Greaves*: *baiṭhe haĩ* = 1. *baiṭhe hue haĩ*; 2. 'they have seated themselves'.[27]

The perfective participle of transitive verbs :

Yahã̃ to itne citr *likhe* haĩ. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 99.)

Uskī mã̃ Menakā *sunī* hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 95.)

Puruvãśiyõ̃ ke bhāgya mẽ̃ vipatti kabhī nahĩ̃ *likhī* hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh* Śakũtalā, p. 80.)

Maĩ sãsār se *ṭhukrāī huī* hũ̃. - Maĩ bhī sãsār kā *satāyā huā* hũ̃. (*V. Ś. Vyās*.[28])

As seen from the last quotations, the perfective participle of transitive verbs, when agreeing in gender and number with its subject, retains its passive meaning.

This use is in contrast with the use of the transitive perfective participle „constructed absolutely". It is difficult to introduce a passive meaning into a sentence like *Pārvatīdevī sĩgār-piṭār kiye hai* (*M. Nehrū*[29]). *Platts*, trying to save the passive meaning of the „passive participle" (viz. perfective participle of transitive verbs), has recourse to forced explanation. He writes: „*Us dare ko maĩ apnī qabr samjhe hūe thā* 'I was under the impression that that defile would prove my grave' (lit. 'I existed, that defile thought my grave')." (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 421, 2, b, p. 334.) Even so, *Platts* was unable to avoid inconsistency. He admits: „The passive participle, when governed by one of the postpositions *bin*, *be*, or *baġair*, has in some instances an *active* signification: e.g. *ki be mere kahe mere sāth khānā khātā hai* 'that without my bidding (thee) thou eatest food with me'." (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 427, p. 340.)

The verbal voice of the perfective participle of transitive verbs is in no way bound to the use or omission of any postposition (or preposition). Thus, in the following instances, the participle has *passive* meaning, though used with preposition *binā*:

ankahā = binā *kahā huā*; andekhā = binā *dekhā huā*; anginā = binā *ginā huā* (cf. anganā = na ginā huā); ansunī = binā *sunī huī* (*Ś.S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar, I, p. 91 ff.).

On the other hand, sometimes, the perfective participle of transitive verbs has an *active* meaning even when it *agrees* with its subject in gender and number (and when no postposition or preposition is used) :

Kabīr *paṛhe likhe* nahĩ̃ the. (*Ś. S. Dās*.[30])

anābiddh = binā ched kā; coṭ *na khāyā huā* (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar, I, p. 100).

[24] Śrīmatī *Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, Ilāhābād 1926, p. 15.
[25] Śrīmatī *Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, Ilāhābād 1926, p. 15.
[26] *Bhāratẽdu Śrīhariścandr* viracit Satyahariścandr nāṭak, Prayāg 1929, p. 15.
[27] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 311, p. 356.
[28] Paṇḍit *Vinod Śãkar Vyās*, Aśānt, Laheriyāsarāy l984 V., p. 44.
[29] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 353.
[30] *Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī bhāṣā aur sāhitya, 2. sāskaraṇ, Prayāg 1994 V. (Vikramasamvat), p. 276.

When the perfective participle of transitive verbs occurs in the masculine singular inflected form, irrespective of the gender and number of the subject of the participle, it has an *active* meaning throughout.

Considering the use of the „participle absolute" in construction with the verb *honā*, one can hardly avoid questioning about the difference between this participial phrase and the respective form of the perfective tense. Comparing e.g. the sentence *Pārvatīdevī sĩgār-piṭār kiye hai*[31] with the same sentence put into the present perfective tense *Pārvatīdevī ne sĩgār-piṭār kiyā hai* it will be found that the participial phrase (*kiye hai*) proves to be more suitable in a descriptive picture while the present perfective tense (*Pārvatīdevī ne kiyā hai*) can be conveniently used in a narrative. Thus, perhaps, can be explained the fact that the „participle constructed absolutely" often appears in the introductory text depicting a person or scene before any narrative, in dramatic literature (cf. *Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā or *Bhāratẽdu Śrīhariścandr*, Satyahariścandr nāṭak etc.). Indeed, scene-pictures are found in stories, too. E.g. the first lines of „Tānsen" by *Jayśãkar 'Prasād'* read as follows:

Yah choṭā-sā sarovar bhī kyā hī sundar hai, suhāvne ām aur jāmun ke vr̥kṣ cārõ or se ise *ghere hue* haĩ. Dūr se dekhne mẽ yahã keval ek baṛā-sā vr̥kṣõ kā jhurmuṭ dikhāī detā hai, par iskā svacch jal apne saundarya ko ũce ḍhūhõ mẽ *chipāye hue hai*.[32]

This use of the transitive perfective participle „constructed absolutely" can be explained by the fact that, by the participial phrase, the mere state is expressed, while, by the perfective tense, a state is denoted as resulting from a previous action (cf. above the analogical use of the intransitive perfective participle).

Indeed, in the Hindī tense system, there is no room for a perfective tense formed by adding the auxiliary verb *honā* to a participle „constructed absolutely". Therefore, the idea of such a „form of the perfect" was rejected, by *Platts* (Grammar H. U. L., footnote on p. 334 to § 421, 2). Anyhow, if not in Hindī, the combination of indeclinable perfective participle with auxiliary verb is the way of forming perfective tenses, in Bangālī: *dhareche = dhare + (ā)che* (cf. Hindī: *dhare hai* in the sentence: *Śeṣnāg pr̥thvī ko śir par dhare hai*; though the Bangālī *dhare* (in sādhubhāṣā: *dhariẏā*) has developed in another way than the Hindī *dhare*).

2. The „participle constructed absolutely" with verbs of perception.

The imperfective and perfective participles, constructed „absolutely" and related to the object of the sentence, occur with verbs of perception, sensual or mental (*dekhnā*, *sunnā*, *pānā*, *jānnā* etc.).

E.g. Ham logõ ne ek magar ko pānī se sir *nikālte dekhā*. (*Premcand*, Jāgal kī kahāniyã, p. 35.)

Maĩne pyārī ko vilāp *karte* dekhnā nahĩ cāhā thā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 100.)

Maĩne devajananī apsarā ko Śakũtalā se yah *kahte* sunā thā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 107.)

Maĩ mātā ko atyant pyār kartā thā. Unhẽ rugn-śayyā par *paṛe* dekh maĩ vyagr ho gayā. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 16.)

In the same position, however, a participle *agreeing* in gender and number with its subject (i.e. with the object of the sentence), can be used:

[31] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 353.

[32] *Jayśãkar 'Prasād'* , Chāyā, 3. sãskaraṇ, Laheriyāsarāy 1986 V. (Vikramasamvat), p. 1: Tānsen.

Śakũtalā ko *jātī* dekhkar rājā khaṛā socne lagā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 82.)

Suśīlā ko *soī huī* jān kar ve uske nikaṭ baiṭh gaye. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 6.)

In *Platts'* opinion, the imperfective participle describing the state or condition of the object „may by optionally put in the nominative or the locative absolute, the perfect, or passive participle always takes the form of the nominative" (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 422, a, p. 335-336).

In truth, not only the imperfective but also the perfective participle can be put in the „locative absolute" :

Maĩ mātā ko atyant pyār kartā thā. Unhẽ rugn-śayyā par *paṛe* dekh maĩ vyagr ho gayā. Merī mātā thoṛe se rog mẽ paṛne vālī strī nahĩ thĩ. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 16.)

Platts is complaining of ambiguity in sentences like *maĩne usko tairte dekhā* ('I saw him whilst I was swimming', and 'whilst he was swimming', *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., Rem. to § 423, p. 336). But, in context, such an ambiguity can be avoided, as seen in the above quotations. Anyhow, the Hindī writers do not follow *Platts'* hint that, „of the two forms of the imperfect participle, the nominative is perhaps the correct one" (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., Rem. to § 423, p. 336).

Trying to guess the reason of this varying use, both the form and the syntactical function of the participle is to be borne in mind. When *agreeing* in gender and number with its subject (i.e. with the object of the sentence), the participle is treated as an *adjective*, and, syntactically, it is felt as a predicative adjunct. When used „*absolutely*", the participle is treated as an *adverb*, and, syntactically, it is felt as an adverbial adjunct.

3. The „participle constructed absolutely" with other verbs.

The imperfective and perfective participles, constructed „absolutely" and related to the subject of the sentence or to another subject of their own, occur in sentences the main verb of which can be of different kind:

Maĩ *rote rote* bolī. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 48.)

Vīṇā pān *banāte hue* kahne lagī. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 47.)

Tū aisā puruṣ hai ki adharm aur akīrti se ḍartā hai to bhī apnī vivāhitā ko *choṛte* nahĩ lajātā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 81.)

Suśīlā apne kamre mẽ palaṅg par *leṭe hī leṭe* pustak paṛhtī-paṛhtī so gaī thī. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 6.)

Apnī bahin ke pās *baiṭhe hī baiṭhe* atyant śram hone ke kāraṇ so gayī. (*Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, p. 262.)

An imperfective participle or a perfective participle of intransitive verbs „constructed absolutely" may be replaced by a participle *agreeing* in gender and number with its subject, on condition that the subject of the participle be, at the same time, subject of the main verb (in brief, if a „related participle" be in question). In the following quotations, participle agrees in gender and number with its subject:

Śīlā *dharḍharātī huī* ūpar caṛh gaī. (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. 46.)

Śakũtalā Duṣyãt kī or *dekhtī* aur *ṭhiṭhaktī huī* calī. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 19.)

Ēk din Dulārī, apne ghar par *baiṭhī huī*, bin rahī thī. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 5.j

Cakaī kamal ke pattõ mẽ *baiṭhī* bahuterā boltī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 62.)

When the participle has a subject of its own, different from the subject (and the object) of the main verb in the sentence, then the participle is rightly called „absolute participle"; it could be named „loose" or „*unrelated*" participle, as well. In this case, the participle cannot be replaced by a participle agreeing in gender and number with its subject (unless an appositional phrase be in question) :

Rote rote uskī baṛī burī daśā ho gaī thī. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 50.)

Is prakār bātẽ *karte karte* ab sṭeśan ā gayā thā. (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. 87.)

Vah rāt bhī use *tākte* hī bīt gaī. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 7.)

Jāte jāte rāste mẽ ek jagah baṛī badbū āne lagī. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 11.)

Choṭā, baṛā, lambā, caurā ho *jāte* tujhe der hī nahĩ lagtī. (*Mahāvīrprasād Dvivedī*.[33])

Is tarah vahã̃ *rahte* use kaī mahīne bīt gaye. (*M. P. Dvivedī*, Meghadūt, p. 2.)

Peṛ par *baiṭhe-baiṭhe* laṛke kī deh akaṛ gaī thī. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 6.)

Baiṭhe-baiṭhe uskā jī ūb gayā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 7.)

Kaī sāl *hue* merā ek dost aur maĩ Rãcī ke ek daftar mẽ kām karte the. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 31.)

Kuch din *hue* Ilāhābād mẽ ek sarkas āyā thā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 25.)

Ēk samay maĩ Hãsamatī par āsakt thā aur ab itne din *bichure* ho gae haĩ isse ulahnā detī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 69.)

Kuch kāl *bīte* vah mere pās āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 129.)

Phal *āe* vṛkṣ navātā hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 72.)

Mã̃ kā jvar kaī din ho *gaye* nahĩ utrā. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 16.)

The perfective participle of *transitive* verbs, no matter if related (i.e. referring to the subject of the sentence) or unrelated (i.e. referring to a subject of its own), can never be replaced by participle agreeing in gender and number with the subject (unless an appositional phrase be in question) :

Viyog ke vastr dhāraṇ *kie* aur juṭe hue bālõ kī veṇī pīṭh par *ḍāle* Śakũtalā ai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 124.)

Vah dekhiye, sã̃p maṇi *rakhe* baiṭhā hai. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 23.)

Dulārī mastak *navāye* baiṭhī hai. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, pg, 6.)

Netr band *kiye hue* hī bole. (*V. Ś. Vyās*, Aśānt, p. 27.)

Considering the use of the participle in the above quotations, it will be found that, in the position of an adverbial adjunct, the „participle constructed absolutely" can be easily replaced by a *transgressive* (= the „conjunctive participle") :

Hāth mẽ kamãḍal *liye* Gautamī āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 46.)

Anasūyā sāmagrī *liye* āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 55.)

Kaṇv kā celā acche acche vastr ābhūṣaṇ *lekar* āyā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 56.)

Yah kahtā huā vah bhālū ko *lekar* nāv par caṛh gayā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 30.)

Madārī bhālū ko *liye hue* nāv se utrā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 31.)

Ḍik dauṛtā huā āyā aur bacce ko god mẽ *lekar* bhāgā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 26.)

Unhõne dekhā ki Ḍik bacce ko *liye* bhāgā jā rahā hai. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 26.)

[33] *Mahāvīrprasād Dvivedī*, Mahākavi-Kālidas-praṇīt Meghadūt kā hindī-gadya mẽ bhāvārth-bodhak anuvād, dvitīy bār, Ilāhābād 1924, p. 3. - Abbrev.: *M. P. Dvivedī,* Meghadūt.

Jo phaṭā pāyjāmā ghar mẽ *pahne* the, use *pahan kar* kyõ nahĩ āye? (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. 8.)

In some instances, stylistic reasons seem to have decided the choice of the form, e.g. phal *āe* - jal dhāraṇ *karke*; *pahne* - *pahan kar*. In other instances, the forms could be interchanged, e.g. sāmagrī *liye* āī - vastr ābhūṣaṇ *lekar* āyā.

As to the difference in the signification, in general, the following rule may explain the common use: by the participle, contemporaneity, and, by the transgressive (the „conjunctive participle"), antecedence is expressed, e.g.
lāṭhī *lete hue* - while taking a stick (contemporaneous action)
lāṭhī *liye* - with a stick (contemporaneous state)
lāṭhī *lekar* - after having taken a stick (action anteceding the action expressed by the main verb of the sentence),

Kellogg (Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., § 755, 1, c, p. 450) illustrates this use by following examples:

Vah kapṛe *pahinke* bāhar āyā - 'having dressed he came out'

kapṛe *pahine* bāhar āyā - 'he came out dressed'

kapṛe *pahinte* bāhar āyā - 'he came out dressing', i.e., 'in the act of dressing'.

This is to be borne in mind before answering to the opinion blamed by *Platts*, viz. that „līe and kīe are not perfect, or rather passive participles, but 'irregular forms of the conjunctive participle'." (*Platts*, Grammar H.U.L., footnote to § 421, 2, b, p. 334.)

Moreover, the perfective participle „constructed absolutely" is to be compared with the transgressive (the „conjunctive participle"), from the *morphological* point of view, too. In fact, dialectically, there is found a form of transgressive („conjunctive participle") ending in *-e* which can be easily taken for the masculine singular inflected form of the perfective participle. Thus, *Dhirendra Varma*[34] takes the Braj form *dae*, in one place, as a perfective participle (= „participe passé", in Varma's terminology), and, in another place, as a transgressive (= „l'absolutif", in Varma's terminology), though he supposes the same meaning, in both places:

dae det, 'il donne' (§ 238, d, p. 121, under the headline „Le participe passé avec ... *deno*, 'donner'").

dae daī, 'elle a donne' (§ 238, f, p. 122, under the headline „L'absolutif avec ... *deno*, 'donner'").

No mistake, however, is posible with verb roots ending in consonant, as the transgressive (the „conjunctive participle") of these verbs never ends in *-e*.[35]

Hence, following conclusions are to be pointed out:

1. *Morphologically*, the transitive perfective participle „constructed absolutely" and the transgressive (the „conjunctive participle") are to be taken apart.

2. In *signification*, both of these forms are very closely related.

3. *Syntactically*, both of these forms can be used as adverbial adjunct, and are, then, easily interchanged.

4. The perfective participle „constructed absolutely" with *denā, lenā, ḍālnā, jānā.*

Discussing the „compounds formed with the perfect participle", *Platts* says: „These (viz. frequentatives and continuatives) are formed ... b) by adding the verb

[34] *Dhirendra Varma*, La langue braj (dialecte de Mathurā), Paris 1935, § 238, p. 121-122.
[35] *Dhirendra Varma*, La Langue braj (dialecte de Mathurā), Paris 1935, § 221, p. 111-112.

jānā, 'to go', to a perfect participle used as an abstract substantive; but in this case the verb being *neuter*, the participle is put in the formative: e.g. *cale jānā*, 'to keep moving or walking on' (lit. 'to go on *with* or *in* walking'); *kiye jānā*, 'to continue or go on doing'" (*Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 214, p. 175.)

But the same form of perfective participle is used with verbs which are not neuter:

denā: He Śakũtalā, is sagun ke bharose par maĩ *kahe detī hữ* ki tujhe acchā var milegā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śākũtalā, p. 8.)
Rath hī *kahe detā hai* ki ab ham jalbhare bādalõ mẽ calte haĩ. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śākũtalā, p. 114.)
Maĩ sāre bhāṣaṇõ kā sār āpke sāmne *dohrāye detā hữ* (*M. Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, navambar 1936, p. 455.)
Ham āj Kālidās ke dūsre mahākāvya Kumārasambhav kā bhī gadyātmak anuvād hindī mẽ sulabh *kiye dete haĩ*. (*M. P. Dvivedī*.[36])

lenā: Duṣyãt: Lo maĩ tīr ko *utāre letā hữ* (bāṇ utār liyā). (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 3.)

ḍālnā: Yah to badhik kī bhãti mujhe *māre ḍāltā hai*. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 111.)
Yah (hāthī) rath ko dekh ḍar gayā hai isse van kā nāś *kiye ḍāltā hai*. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 18.)

jānā: Śakũtalā: He sakhī, jab se mere netrõ ke sāmne is tapovan kā rakhvālā catur rājarṣi āyā tabhī se - (itnā kah lajjit hokar cup rah gaī). - Donõ sakhī: *Kahe jā*! - Śakũtalā: Tab se merā man uske vaś hokar is daśā ko pahũcā hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 37-38.)

Therefore, from the character of the finite verb (whether neuter or not), nothing can be decided about the substantival force of the participle. Still, we have to consider the participle itself and to ask whether *G. A. Grierson* is right in taking forms like *māre* as a verbal noun (Linguistic Survey of India, IX, 1, p. 215).

There are two types of suffixes forming the verbal noun, in Hindī dialects : one in *-n-*, and another in *-b-*:[37]) The type in *-n-* is found in the literary Hindī and in all western Hindī dialects as well as in Mālvī, Nimārī and Pahāṛī. The type in *-b-* occurs in Braj Bhāṣā (in addition to the type in *-n-*) and in all the eastern Hindī dialects as well as in Rājasthānī.[38]

Hence, the idea of a special form of verbal noun in *-e* is to be omitted. And to think of a *participle used substantively* cannot prove to be more suitable, in the above instances, than in the other uses of the „participle constructed absolutely".

Another way of explanation can be looked for in comparing the phrases *kahe denā*, *utāre lenā*, *māre ḍālnā* etc. with the common use of phrases (or „compounds") *kah denā*, *utār lenā*, *mār ḍālnā* etc.

An analogy to this varying use is found in Braj Bhāṣā. There, apart from the participial phrases, combinations are found in which *transgressive* („*conjunctive participle*") is employed with *deno*, *leno*, *jāno* etc. *Dhirendra Varma*[39] adduces following instances:

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[36] *Mahāvīrprasād Dvivedī*, Mahākavi-Kālidās-praṇīt *Kumārasambhav* kā hindī-gadya mẽ bhāvārth-bodhak anuvād, tṛtīy vār, Prayāg 1928, bhūmikā, p. (2). -Abbrev.: *M. P. Dvivedī*, Kumārasambhav.

[37] *Dhirendra Varma*, La langue braj, Paris 1935, § 220, p. 110. *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, § 480, p. 284; § 533, p. 311.

[38] *Dhirendra Varma*, La langue braj, Paris 1935, § 220, p. 111.

[39] *Dhirendra Varma*, La langue braj, Paris 1935, p. 121-122.

dae det, „il donne“ (participle with *deno*)
dhari de, „range“ (transgressive with *deno*)
gheri liyo, „il a entoure“ (transgressive with *leno*)
gaṛi jāta, „il plante“ (transgressive with *jāno*)

The use of transgressive („conjunctive participle“) in phrases with *jāno*, *deno*, *leno* etc., in Braj Bhāṣā, supports the opinion that, in the Hindī phrases like *kah jānā*, *kah denā*, *utār lenā* etc., *transgressive* in the form of verbal stem is used. This being admitted, then, in the double use *kahe denā* : *kah denā*; *utāre lenā* : *utār lenā* etc., a parallel phenomenon can be seen to the double use *sāmagrī liye* : *sāmagrī lekar* (as discussed above).

5. The adverbial character of the „participle constructed absolutely“.

The form of the „participle constructed absolutely“ is explained, by *Platts*,[40] repeatedly, as the locative singular the postposition being suppressed.

Describing the force of this form, however, *Platts* does not employ any consistent terminology. The force of the imperfective participle „constructed absolutely“ is termed, by him, in three ways:

1. „verbal adjective changed into an adverb“, e.g. *ham gāte gāte sītī haĩ*.[41]
2. „participle constructed absolutely“, e.g. (again) : *ham gāte gāte sītī haĩ*.[42]
3. „an abstract substantive equivalent to the Gerund“, e.g. *asbāb hote (= hone par) tavakkul khūb nahĩ̃*.[43]

In the section about the uses of the locative case, *Platts* writes: „It (viz. the locative postposition *mẽ̃*) is used absolutely with an adjective or substantive (in the manner of the Ablative Absolute of the Latin), to express a state or circumstance: as *goyā jīte jī bihiśt mẽ̃ gayā* ‘as if I entered Paradise alive’ (lit. ‘being in a living state’). In such cases the postposition *mẽ̃* and the participle *hote* are generally understood.“[44]

Supposed that the participle *jīte* could be explained, in this way, there is left to explain the participle *hote*. And if both *jīte* and *hote* are a locative singular, the postposition being suppressed, then by adding *hote* nothing is gained, because the very locative singular is to be explained: one unknown form cannot be made clear by another unknown form of the same kind unless the latter form conveys some new elements into the question.

In fact, neither the participle *hote* nor the postposition *mẽ̃* is understood in the phrase *jīte jī*, the participle *jīte* itself being felt as an *adverbial adjunct* in the sentence.

Indeed, in eastern Hindī, a locative case can be seen in phrases like *yah aśakya sāte* ‘this being impossible’, though the correct sanskrit form is *sati*. But, as rightly

[40] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, Rem. to § 212, p. 173; § 355, 6, p. 284; § 42l, 2, p. 333; § 422, a, p. 335. - Abbrev.: *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L.

[41] *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., Rem. to § 213, p. 174.

[42] *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 421, 3, a, p. 335.

[43] *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 424, 2, a, p. 339. - Similarly, *Kellogg* asserts, in the second edition of his Grammar (§ 754, 4, p. 448), that the participles are „used gerundially as *substantives*“, in instances like *(tū) apnī vivāhitā ko chorte nahĩ lajātā*; *(rātẽ̃) sej par karvaṭẽ̃ lete kaṭtī haĩ* etc.

Greaves puts, among the instances of participle becoming „about equal to a Noun or the Infinitive“, sentences like *isī ke milte mujhe terī sudh āyī* (Grammar, sect. 225, 5, pg, 259); *logõ̃ ke kahe kahāye ham uske vairī kyõ̃ bante haĩ* (sect. 226, 4, p. 263) etc.

[44] *Platts*, Grammar H. U. L., § 255, 6, p. 284.

noticed by *Kellogg*, *sãte* is redundant in phrases like *is deh ko tyāg karat sãte*, 'in leaving this body', or *vidhavā bhae sãte putrõ ke adhīn rahe*, 'having become a widow, let her remain subject to her sons'.[45]

As the Hindī adverbs (and adverbial phrases) can be formed by means of inflected form without postposition - be it the locative without *mẽ* or *par*[46] or the accusative without *ko*[47] - the way was open to use the inflected masculine singular form of the participles with adverbial force. Thus, the participles *hote*, *jīte*, *pahine* etc. can be parallelled with the adverbs *aise*, *vaise*, *jaise* etc., or *itne*, *utne* etc., or even with *āge*, *dhīre*, *sāmne*, *savere*, *nīce* etc. To complete this parallelism, we have *hotā : hote = aisā : aise = nīcā : nīce* etc.

That Hindī speaking people do feel the „participle constructed absolutely" as an *adverb*, is to be seen e.g. in the *Hindī śabd sāgar* (by *Śyām Sundar Dās*) :

ajñāt = a) viśeṣaṇ: binā jānā huā
b) kriyāviśeṣaṇ: *binā jāne* (*adverb*); anjāne mẽ (*adverbial phrase*) ; vol. I, p. 62.
animiṣ = b) kriyāviśeṣaṇ: *binā palak girāe*; ekṭak; nirãtar (*adverb*); vol. I, p. 102.
animeṣ = b) kriyāviśeṣaṇ: *binā palak girāe*; ekṭak; nirãtar (*adverb*) ; vol. I, p. 102.
dekhte dekhte = ãkhõ ke sāmne (*adverbial phrase*); turãt, fauran, caṭpaṭ (*adverb*); vol.II, p. 1616
ulṭe = kriyāviśeṣaṇ: viruddh kram se (*adverbial phrase*) ; vol. I, p. 365.

Therefore, *Kellogg* is right in saying: „In the predicative construction the participle describes or defines the *subject* of the verb; in the absolute construction it defines after the manner of an adverb, the *verb* itself. Thus, vah *rotā huā calā jātā thā*, 'he was going along weeping'; but *vah rote hue calā jātā thā*, is rather, 'he was going along tearfully'."[48]

In *Kellogg*'s remark, only the term „the absolute construction" ought to be replaced by the name „the adverbial participle".

Turning back to the ellipsis of „*kī ḥālat mẽ*', in *Tisdall*'s explanation,[49] it may be remarked that the idea of *-kī ḥālat mẽ* is conveyed by the adverbial participle itself. There is no need of taking any ellipsis into consideration. Besides, it is difficult to apply *Tisdall*'s theory to the perfective participle of transitive verbs, unless the change in the verbal voice of the participle is explained.

On the other hand, supposed that the participle is used *adverbially*, its agreement in gender and number with its subject (= the logical object of the action) being lost and nothing being left from a passive construction, an *active* meaning can easily be understood. Comparing e.g. *Pārvatīdevī sĩgār-piṭār kiye hai* (*M. Nehrū*[50]) with *Pārvatīdevī ne sĩgār-piṭār kiyā hai*, it will be seen that

1. there is no agreement between *sĩgār-piṭār* and *kiye*; hence *kiye* cannot be felt as an extension of *sĩgār-piṭār*, on the contrary, *sĩgār-piṭār* is to be considered as an extension (viz. object) of the participle *kiye*;

[45] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 2, d, p. 447.
[46] *Kellogg*, Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., § 705, p. 423.
[47] *Kellogg*, Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., § 682, p. 401.
[48] *Kellogg*, Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., Rem. to § 754, 2, p. 448.
[49] *W. St. Clair Tisdall*, A Conversation-Grammar of the Hindūstānī Language, London-Heidelberg 1911, § 184, p. 141.
[50] Paṇdit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 353.

2. the case of the agent being replaced by the nominative (*Pārvatīdevī* instead of *Pārvatīdevī ne*), the passive construction disappears.

Several examples of this use have been given, above, one may be repeated: Kālā coġā *pahne* thā, mũh par kālī naqāb *ḍāle* thā aur hāth mẽ̃ pistaul *liye* thā. (*Viśvambharnāth Śarmā 'Kauśik'*.[51])

A literal English translation could read, indeed, „Pārvatīdevī is *in the state of* having made her toilet". Therein, perhaps, the reason may be seen why *Tisdall* thinks that probably *kī ḥālat mẽ̃*, 'in the state of', or some such phrase is understood in such a construction."[52] An addition like „in the state of" may be considered necessary for English speaking people. There is, however, no such need in languages forming adverbs from participles.

In fact, the capacity of forming adverbs from participles is no isolated linguistic phenomenon. Not only in Hindī, but also in Czech language, participles can be used adverbially, though not to such a large extent as in Hindī. In Czech, the masculine singular form of participle losing its agreement in gender and number with its subject is treated as adverb:

Muž, žena, dítě čte *leže*; čteme *leže*; muž, žena, dítě, poutníci se modlí *kleče*; muž, žena, dítě, pocestní spí *stoje*; koně *stoje* spali.[53] Some participles are completely changed into adverbs: *mlčky* (derivated from *mlče*), *plačky* (derivated from *pláče*; cf. Hindī: *rotā rotā : rote rote*). Besides, there are often found forms like *počínajíc*, *končíc*, *hledíc*, *takřka*, *chtě nechtě*, (*chtíc nechtíc*), *vyjma* (*vyjmouc*, *vyjímajíc*).[54]

Moreover, as the Hindī adverbial participle can be constructed with postposition, similarly, the Czech adverbial participle appears joined to preposition: *vleže*, *vstoje*, *vkleče*, *vsedě*.[55]

6. Some peculiar uses of the adverbial participle.

Having in common with adverbs both the form and the use, the „participle constructed absolutely" may conveniently be called *adverbial participle*. The more so, that it is really absolute only in certain cases, viz. when related to a subject of its own (different from the subject or the direct object of the main verb).

Thus, the term *adverbial participle* is by no means to be restricted to the case when the participle is joined with the emphatic particle *hī*, as sometimes found in the Hindī grammars.[56] This is only one of the uses of the adverbial participle :

Darpaṇ nirmal *hote hī* mūrti jyõ̃ kī tyõ̃ dikhāī detī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh,* Śakũtalā, p. 131)

Chuṭṭī *pāte hī* laṛke khel-kūd kiyā karte the. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 14.)

On the other hand, the emphatic particle *hī* may be joined to participle agreeing with its subject in gender and number:

He man, jab pyārī mṛganayanī ne tujhe sneh kī sudh dikhāī tab tū *sotā hī* rahā. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 91.)

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[51] *Viśvambharnāth Śarmā „Kauśik"*, Krāntikārī, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, farvarī 1934, p. 170.

[52] *W. St. Clair Tisdall*, A Conversation-Grammar of the Hindūstānī Language, London-Heidelberg 1911, § 157, p. 113.

[53] *F. Trávníček*, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, Praha 1949, II, § 843, 5, p. 803 and 804.

[54] *F. Trávníček*, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, Praha 1949, II, § 843, 8, p. 804-805.

[55] *F. Trávníček*, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, Praha 1949, II, § 843, 6, p. 804.

[56] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 2, a, p. 446. *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 225, 4, p. 258.

Mere emphasis, without modifying the signification of the participle, is expressed by the particle *hī* in following sentences, too:

Sūryya ke rath mẽ ghoṛe sadaiva *jūte hī* rahte haĩ. Pavan din rāt *calā hī* kartī hai. Śeṣnāg sadā pṛthvī ko sir par *dhare hī* rahtā hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 67.)

The use of adverbial participle follows the use of adverbs in some peculiar constructions :

a) both adverb and adverbial participle may be followed by postposition;

b) both adverb and adverbial participle may be used as postposition;

c) adverbs, when used as postpositions, require the noun they modify to be in the inflected genitive; as a parallel phenomenon to this use can be considered the fact that adverbial participle may require its subject to be in the inflected genitive, too. But the construction with the subject in the nominative is found as well.

a) Adverbial participle followed by postposition.

If a special variation of the adverbial idea is to be expressed, the adverbial participle may be joined with postposition (or preposition) :

Rain bīt gaī, maĩ abhī *sote se* bhī nahĩ uṭhī hũ. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 53.)

Campā caũk-sī paṛī. Mānõ vah *sote se* jagī ho. (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. 260.)

Śakũtalā apnā anādar aur tyāg *hue par* bhī is rājā ke virah mẽ vyathit ho rahī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 91.)

Binā sikhāe bhī strī-jāti kī caturāi puruṣõ se adhik hotī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 78.)

Binā pragaṭ hue bhī sab vṛttãt jān lũ. (*Lakṣmaṇsĩh*, Śakũtalā, p. 87.)

Śanno ātī hai aur us kamre mẽ *ṭhahre binā* sīdhā apne sone ke kamre mẽ jātī hai. (*M. Nehrū*.[57])

Dekhnevālā yah *kahe binā* na rah saktā thā ki yah ek rājā kā rājbhavan hai. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 10.)

Kellogg,[58] *Platts*[59] and *Greaves*[60] consider the participle, when joined with postposition (preposition), as a substantive. Indeed, in translating the participle, one may be forced to use an adverbial phrase with a substantive or gerund. But the Hindī adverbial participle, when joined with postposition, has as much (or as little) force of a substantive as an adverb in the same conditions, e.g. *yahã se*; *āge se*, *pahle se*. (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar I, p. 230.)

After all, that a construction of an adverbial participle with a preposition (postposition) is possible, is to be seen from the Czech adverbial participles *vleže*, *vstoje*, *vkleče*, *vsedě*.[61]

As to the preposition (postposition) *binā*, it occurs with participles agreeing in gender and number with its subject, as well:

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[57] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, navambar 1936, p. 454.

[58] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, Allahabad-Calcutta-London 1876, § 596, 3, p. 313: *pūche tẽ*; *yuddh bin kiye*. - Similarly, in the 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 4, a, p. 449: *vinā satkār kiye*.

[59] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 424 p. 338‖339: *sote se*.

[60] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 225, 5, p. 259; *sote se*; § 226, 4, p. 263: *laṛe binā*.

[61] *F. Trávníček*, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, Praha 1949, II, § 843, 6, p. 804.

Jitnī ṭhaur *binā likhī* rahī hai is mẽ mujhī sī kubṛī tapasvinī likhānī cāhie. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 101.)

ankahā = *binā kahā huā*; andekhā = *binā dekhā huā*; ansunī = *binā sunī huī, besunī* etc. (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar I, p. 91 ff.)

One may ask why, in phrases like *binā sikhāe*, the preposition *binā* is used instead of a negative particle. The answer is that, with the perfective participles, both the preposition *binā* and the negative particle *na* are used. Exceptionally, *nahĩ* is found, too. Thus, in the I. volume of the Hindī śabd sāgar by *Ś. S. Dās*, on ten pages (p. 90-100), there are seventeen instances of *binā* joined with a perfective participle (ankahā = *binā kahā huā* etc.), six of *na* (anāgat = *na āyā huā*; anavāpt = *na pāyā huā* etc.), one of *nahĩ* (ancāhā = *nahĩ cāhā huā*). On the same pages, the verbal noun is found with the negative particle *na*, throughout (anavasar = fursat kā na honā; anavāpti = na panā etc.).

b) Adverbial participle used as postposition.

The adverbial perfective participles *liye* and *māre* have developed into postpositions requiring the noun they modify to be in the inflected genitive, in the same way as adverbs when used as postpositions :

Itnā sab *kis ke liye* hai, keval *tumhāre liye*. (*Śārdā Kumārī Devī*, Galp-vinod, p. 11.)

Half way to become a postposition is the use of the participle *liye* in phrases like *lāṭhī liye*:

Hāth mẽ *kamāḍal liye* Gautamī āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 46.)

Even when agreeing with its subject in gender and number, a participle can approach the function of a postposition:

Sārathī ko ājñā de ki rath lāve aur merā dhanuṣ bāṇ bhī *letā āve*. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 31.)

Brahmaputr - ek nad jo Mānsarovar se nikalkar Himālay ke pūrvīy prā̃t se Bhāratvarṣ mẽ praveś kartā hai aur Āsām, Bāgāl *hotā huā* Bāgāl kī khāṛī mẽ girtā hai. (*Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī śabd sāgar, III, p. 2522.)

c) Adverbial participle governing its subject.

While a participle agreeing in gender and number with its subject is felt as an extension of this subject, in the case of an adverbial participle the relation can be inverted. Thus, in some cases, the participle governs its subject which appears, then, in the inflected genitive.

In this construction, too, a parallelism may be seen to the use of adverbs used as postpositions requiring the noun they modify to be put in the inflected genitive.

Strī kaisī hī suśīltā se rahe phir bhī *pati ke hote* pīhar rahne mẽ log cavāv karte haĩ. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 74.)

Isī ke milte mujhe terī sudh āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 127.)

Ve (viz. Mānvatī) cāhtī thĩ ki unkā pati Jagatnārāyaṇ unkī icchāõ kī pūrti kare. Ghar mẽ unkī zarā bhī upekṣā hone par unkī sās aur nandõ se laṛāī kare aur *bāp ke rahte hue* bhī unhẽ kapṛe aur gahne kharīd kar lāye. (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. l.)

Mere ghar mẽ *mere jīte jī* is prakār kī carcā! (*Nāthsĩh*, Uljhan, p. 130.)

Indr ne merā baṛā satkār kiyā ki mujhe apnī ādhī gaddī par *devatāõ ke dekhte* jagah dī. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 113.)

Kellogg[62] and *Greaves*[63] take the participle in this construction as a substantive. But, apart from the construction with the genitive of the subject, the participle can be used with the same force in construction with the nominative of the subject:

Ab *prāṇ rahte* jo kuch maĩ kar saktā hoũ karne ko khaṛā hũ̃ (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*.[64])

Yah sab hote hue bhī Vidyāpati ke pīche hĩdī mẽ̃ thoṛe dinõ̃ tak Kṛṣṇabhakti kī kavitā nahĩ̃ huī. (*Ś. S. Dās*.[65])

Kuch kāl bīte vah mere pās āī. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 129.)

Neither *Kellogg*[66] nor *Greaves*[67] offer any analysis of this use. *Platts*' inconsistent explanation was discussed above.[68]

The adverbial participle joined with the particle *hī* presents, too, the same varying construction (with the nominative of the subject, on the one hand, and, with the genitive of the subject, on the other).

Subject in the nominative:

Āyasu hote hī turãt kisī vandevī ne cãdramā ke tulya śvet sāṛī dī. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 57.)

Chuṭṭī hote hī vah bāhar maidān mẽ̃ nikal āyā. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 16.)

Us par moṭar kī *rośnī paṛte hī* unhõ̃ne dekhā ki vah ãkhẽ̃ nahĩ̃ haĩ, balki do pairgāṛiyõ̃ kī battiyã̃ jal rahī haĩ. (*Premcand*, Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 34.)

Subject in the genitive:

Mere marte hī ('upon my death', *Greaves*, Hindī Grammar § 225, 4, p. 258).

Us ke gaye hī ('immediately upon his having gone', *Kellogg*, Grammar H. L., 2nd ed., § 409, p. 236).

If an objective complement is expressed, it is put in the accusative or the genitive.

Object in the accusative:

Use chūte hī ek dam krodh kī jvālā sulag uṭhtī hai. (*M. Nehrū*.[69])

Virah kā gīt sunte hī mere cit ko udāsī ho jātī hai. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 70.)

Object in the genitive:

Is sundarī ko *jiske dekhte hī* man hāth se niklā jātā hai tapasvinī banānā aisā hai jaise nīl kamal kī pakhurī se sūkhā chõ̃kar kãṭnā. (*Lakṣmaṇsīh*, Śakũtalā, p. 7.)

Platts, quoting *javān uske dekhte hī khuś huā*, - 'the young man became delighted at the sight of her', remarks: „The use of the objective complement in the genitive serves to show that the participle in such cases partakes of the character of the *noun* as well as that of the verb."[70]

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[62] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, Allahabad-Calcutta-London 1876, § 596, 3, p. 313: *sab ke dekhte*. - Similarly, in the 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 4, a, p. 449: *bairī ke āe pīche*.

[63] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 225, 5, p. 259: *isī ke milte*.

[64] *Lakṣmaṇsīh*, quoted by *Śyāmsũdardās* in *Rājā Lakṣmaṇsīh kā jīvancarit* on the introductory pages to *Lakṣmaṇsīh-anuvādit Śakũtalā nāṭak*, Prayāg 1931, p. (6).

[65] *Ś. S. Dās*, Hindī bhāṣā aur sāhitya, dvitīy sãskaraṇ, Prayāg 1994 (Vikramasamvat), p. 262.

[66] *S. H. Kellogg*, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, Allahabad-Calcutta-London 1876, § 596, 2, p. 311-313. - 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 2, p. 446-447.

[67] *E. Greaves*, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 225, 3, p. 257 f; § 226, 2, p. 261 f.

[68] See the section: The adverbial character of the „participle constructed absolutely".

[69] Paṇḍit *Mohanlāl Nehrū*, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī*, Prayāg, navambar 1936, p. 459.

[70] *J. T. Platts*, A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, § 423,b. Rem., p. 338.

It may be noticed that, in the genitive construction, only the context can decide whether the subjective or the objective genitive be in question. In the latter case, the construction is comprehensible, supposed, that the participle has *adverbial* force: a verbal noun (and there cannot be another sort of a noun in question) would require the object to be in the accusative and not in the genitive. A verbal adverb, on the other hand, has less verbal force than a verbal noun, hence it can command an objective complement in the genitive, the more so, that this is the rule for adverbs used as postpositions.

After all, Platts is alone in taking the adverbial participle joined with hī as a noun. In Kellogg's opinion, „the so called adverbial participle is nothing more than the imperfect participle absolute with the emphatic particle hī."[71] Neither Kellogg[72] nor Greaves[73] comprise the adverbial participle with the emphatic particle hī into the participles used as substantives.

Kellogg is right in writing : „This is not in truth an additional formation from the verb, but merely a special grammatical construction of the imperfect participle."[74]

There is left only to add that, in „this special grammatical construction", the participle has as much of the force of an adverb as in any case whenever a „participle constructed absolutely" is in question.

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[71] S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, Allahabad-Calcutta-London 1876, § 596, 2, f, p. 313. Cf, § 329, p. 168-169. - 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 2, a, p. 446.

[72] S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, § 754, 4, p. 448-449.

[73] E. Greaves, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 225, 5, p. 259.

[74] S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, § 409, p. 236.

THE ADJECTIVAL AND ADVERBIAL PARTICIPLES IN HINDI SYNTAX

Regarding the *form,* the Hindī imperfective and perfective[1] participles are, on the one hand, adjectives in *-ā, -ī* (we say *„adjectival participles“: kahtā, kahtī, kahā, kahī*), and, on the other hand, adverbs in *-e* (we say *„adverbial participles“: kahte, kahe*). Both the adjectival and adverbial participles may be doubled (*kahtā kahtā, kahte kahte*) or joined with the emphatic particle *hī* (*kahtā hī, kahte hī*) or combined with *huā*, *huī, hue* respectively (*kahtā huā; kahte hue*).

Regarding the *use* (or, more precisely, regarding the *word-class* in which the participle may be used), the adjectival participle functions as an adjective or as a substantive. When used adjectivally, the participle agrees in number, gender and case with the noun it qualifies: *rotā* laṛkā; laṛkī *rotī huī* calī gaī. When employed substantively, the participle declines as a noun: *Martā* kyā na kartā. *Sotõ ko* jagāo. Apne *kiye* par pachtānā. The participles *letā, hotā huā* may approach the function of a postposition: Maĩ rupaye *letā* āyā thā. (*Prem Cand.*)[2] Rasoī mẽ *hote hue* ghuste cale ā rahe haĩ. (*Amṛt Rāy.*)[3]

The adverbial participle is used as an adverb: *Dekhte dekhte* vah ghaṛī uṛā le gayā. (*Hindī śabd sāgar s.* v. *dekhnā.*)[4] The participles *liye* and *māre* are used as postpositions: Itnā sab *kiske liye* hai, keval *tumhāre liye.* (*Ś. K. Devī.*)[5] Peṛ par baiṭhe-baiṭhe laṛke kī deh akaṛ gaī thī, bhūkh *ke māre* burā hāl thā. (*Prem Cand.*)[6]

The participle *liye* approaches the force of a postposition in adverbial phrases: Kaī ādmī ek lāś *liye* cale ā rahe haĩ. (*Prem Cand,* Jāgal kī kahāniyā̃, p. 12.)

Regarding the *syntactical construction,* the adjectival participle occurs both attributively and predicatively. The adverbial participle is found in predicative, rarely in attributive position. When expressing the cause of a feeling, the adverbial

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[1] See the author's article *Hindī Participles Used as Substantives, Archiv Orientální* XVIII, No. 4, Praha 1950, p. 166, footnote 1. [In this volume, see supra, p. 61.] - *S. H. Kellogg* (Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed., London 1893, p. 221, § 383) suggests the terms *„imperfect* and *perfect* participles“. These terms are adopted by *E. Greaves* (Hindi Grammar, Allahabad 1933, p. 221 et passim).

Following the advice of prof. dr. *Ivan Poldauf,* we slightly modify *Kellogg's* terminology in order to emphasize the *aspect* of the action expressed by the participle irrespectively of any time.

I am deeply indebted to the profound learning of prof. dr. *Otakar Pertold* (Charles' University, Praha) and of prof. dr. *Ivan Poldauf* (Palacký's University, Olomouc), who discussed the grammatical questions with me many times.

Rem. The Bengali *„antastha ja“* is written *j*.

[2] *Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, 7. sāsk., Banāras 1948, p. 8.

[3] *J. Fučík - Amṛt Rāy,* Phā̃sī ke takhte se, Banāras (year not indicated), p. 5.

[4] *Hindī śabd sāgar* (chief editor *Ś. S. Dās*), Prayāg - Kāśī, I 1916, II 1920, III 1925, IV 1928.

[5] *Śārdā Kumārī Devī,* Galp-vinod, Ilāhābād 1926, p. 11.

[6] *Prem Cand,* Jāgal kī kahāniyā̃, Banāras 1948, p. 6.

participle may approach the function of an object or subject. Both adjectival and adverbial participle may be used in apposition.

The predicative adjectival participle is always *related,* i.e. qualifies either the subject or the direct object of the sentence. The predicative adverbial participle is either *related* (qualifying the subject in the nominative, or the agent in the case of agent, or the direct object of the main verb) or *unrelated* [7] (qualifying an agent of its own).

The distinction between the adjectival and adverbial participle[8] is of importance. Some examples may illustrate the main points.

The adjectival participle.

Attributive construction: *jaltī āg, caṛhī* bhaũh, *khoī* vastu, *sukhā* kāṭh etc. *Lalcāī huī* ãkhõ se tāk rahā thā. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 6.)

Contaminated attributive construction:[9] *Lauṭte* vaqt koī savārī na milī. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 262.) *Lauṭtī* ber yah vārdāt ho gaī. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 78.)

Predicative construction: ūpar ke donõ talle havādār aur *khule hue* the. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 12.) Banmānus *ātā huā* dikhāī diyā. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 12.) Naukrānī *cīkhtī huī* āṭā-kal kī or bhāgī. (*Nāth Sīh.*)[10] Śāmar kī *mārī* kã̃ṣṭeblõ ko kuvacan kahne lagī. (*Prem Cand.*)[11]

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[7] For the terms *„related"* and *„unrelated"* participle I am indebted to prof. dr. *Ivan Poldauf* (Palacký's University, Olomouc).

[8] To some extent, this distinction can be illustrated from Slav languages. The predicative adjectival participle *rotā huā, rotī huī* is rendered, in Czech, by *pláče, plačíc;* the predicative adverbial participle *rote hue* by *plačky.*

In Polish, there are the adjectival forms *niosący, niosąca, niosące,* beside the adverbial form *niosąc.* Cf. *jadący: jadąc.* Szofer *jadący* zbyt szybko przejechał dziecko. *Jadąc* pociągiem, patrzę przez okno i oglądam okolicę. *Tadeusz Lehr-Spławiński-Iza Šaunová,* Mluvnice jazyka polského, Praha 1946[2], p. 74.

Cf. in Russian: понимающий, понимающая, понимающее: понимая; несший, несшая, несшее: несши.

[9] *E. Greaves* (Hindi Grammar, p. 256-257) is right in taking the participle in *jāte* samay etc. as „an adjective belonging to the word *samay*".

A. H. Harley (Colloquial Hindustani, London 1946, p. 53) inserts the idiom *un ke āte vaqt* among the instances for „the masculine singular inflected form of the present participle" (this is a correct though rather lengthy way of describing the form of what we call „the adverbial participle") along with the idiom *us ke pahũcte hī yah huā.*

S. H. Kellogg (Grammar[2] p. 448 § 754, 4) declares the participle in the idiom *sūraj ḍūbte samay* to be „used gerundially as substantive". The gerundial idea is intrusive, indeed, to a European student (cf. Italian *andando, tornando* etc.), but does not apply to the Hindī idiom.

Both in *Harley's* and in *Kellogg's* explanation the feminime form (*lauṭtī* ber, *jātī* daf[ʿ]a) remains unrespected.

In fact, we have, in the idiom, the result of a contamination. Thus, taking an instance from *T. Grahame Bailey's* Hindustani Linguaphone Course (London 1934, p. 40-41), namāz *ke hote vaqt* (p. 40) = namāz *ke vaqt* (p. 41) + namāz *hote* (or namāz *hote hote*).

Similarly, *lauṭte* (or *lauṭte lauṭte*) koī savārī na milī + is *vaqt* koī savārī na milī = *lauṭte vaqt* koī savārī na milī.

Generally, predicative adverbial participle can be easily replaced by predicative adjectival participle: laṛkā *rote rote* calā gayā: laṛkā *rotā rotā* calā gayā. Thus, the forming of the contaminated construction was facilitated.

[10] *Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, Prayāg 1934, p. 112.

[11] *Prem Cand,* Samar yātrā, 6. sāsk., Banāras 1950, p. 10.

The predicative adjectival participle related to the object of the main verb: Suśīlā ko *soī huī* jānkar ve uske nikaṭ baiṭh gaye. (*Ś. K. Devī,* Galpvinod, p. 6.)

The adjectival participle in apposition: Rasoī se kalchī hāth mẽ liye nãge pair pasīnā *ṭapaktā huā* Rādhā nikaltī hai. (*M. L. Nehrū.*)[12]

The adverbial participle.

The adverbial participle, used as an adverbial adjunct of the predicate, denotes adverbial relations of time, manner, cause etc. or circumstances accompanying the action expressed by the main verb. As a rule, the participial construction replaces an adverbial clause. The participle may be related or unrelated.

Related participle: *Mārte mārte* mār ḍālũgā. (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 211.) Ek sãp phan *uṭhāye* baiṭhā hai. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã, p. 23.) Cf. Bengali: Tārā caleche jaṅgal *keṭe keṭe* gāṛīr path *karte karte.* (*S. Bid.*)[13] Choṭa cheleṭāke buke *niye* baṛa meyeṭār hāt *dhare* rānnā *phele* khupṛir madhye tāder *rekhe* elām. (*B. Bandyopādhyāy.*)[14]

Unrelated participle: Nau *bajte bajte* samīp kā relve sṭeśan milā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 30.) Das sāl *paṛhte* ho gaye aur abhī jyõtyõ karke āṭhvẽ mẽ pahũcā thā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 11.) Itnī rāt *gaye* yah jag-jag kis lie hai? (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 68.) Amarkānt kā Sukhadā se vivāh *hue* do sāl ho cuke the. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 16.) - Bengali: Āro moṭe pãc miniṭ ṭren *chāṛte.* (*Ā. Siṃha.*)[15] Roj roj dheno *kheye kheye* keman mukh mere geche. (*Bijay Gupta.*)[16]

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[12] *Mohan Lāl Nehrū,* Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī,* Prayāg, ākṭobar;-navambar 1936, p. 355.

[13] *Suṣamā Bid,* Barmmār bane-jaṅgale, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, bhādra 1344, p. 664.

[14] *Bibhūtibhūṣaṇ Bandyopādhyāy,* Āraṇyak, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, āṣāṛh 1345, p. 330.

S. K. Chatterji (The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language, Calcutta 1926) distinguishes two functions (and double origin) of the verbal form in -(*i*)*te:* a) *The present participle* in -(*i*)*te* (derived fram -*anta-;* § 733, p. 1000). b) *The infinitive* in -(*i*)*te* (derived from „the old verbal noun in -*i- plus* the locative affix -*te";* § 747, p. 1014).

Similarly, *S. K. Chatterji* distinguishes two functions (and double origin) of the verbal form in -*iyā* (in the standard colloquial -*e*): a) *The past* (*passive*) *participle* in -*iyā* (derived from -*ita-* fortified by -ā; § 734, p. 1002). b) *The conjunctive in -iyā* (derived from „the -*i-* form fortified either with the definitive -ā or with the -*ā* from -*iyāṇa*(*ṃ*)*";* § 738, p. 1010).

But *S. K. Chatterji* himself admits that „the -*ite* Infinitive is liable to be confused with the -*ite* Present Participle, and it is at times difficult to decide which form it really is"; § 747, p. 1015. As to the verbal form in -*iyā, S. K. Chatterji* puts the instance *kāndiyā kāndiyā rāṇī āïla bāhire,* „the queen came out weeping", twice: the first time, under the headline „the past (passive) participle" (§ 734, p. 1003), and, the second time, under the headline „the conjunctive in -*iyā"* (§ 741, p. 1012).

Jules Bloch (L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, Paris 1934) treats the Bengali verbal form in -(*i*)*te* as „participe présent" (p. 266) and the verbal form in -*iyā* as „participe passé" (pg, 278). Taken substantively, the present participle appears as infinitive (e.g. *se calite pāre,* „il peut marcher", p. 266). The past participle may be used as gerund („gerondif" e.g. *āmi āsiyā dekhitām,* „etant venu, j'ai vu", p. 278).

We use the terms „imperfective participle" (*karite, kar'te*) and „perfective participle" (*kariyā, ka're*) and compare the use of these participles with the employment of the Hindī adverbial participles, from the *syntactical* point of view. The infinitival function of the Bengali imperfective participle can be considered as the secondary use of the primarily adverbial participle. And the possibility of the perfective participle functioning as the absolutive (conjunctive participle) appears as fundamentally included in the adverbial use af the perfective participle.

[15] *Āśālatā Siṃha,* Surer utsa, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1344, p. 130.

[16] *Bijay Gupta,* Bāsā-badal, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, śrābaṇ 1344, p. 551.

The imperfective (rarely perfective) adverbial participle, related or unrelated, used as adverbial adjunct to denote *time,* may be joined with the emphatic particle *hī* to lay stress on the close temporal connection of the actions:[17] Bāgh merī āvāz *sunte hī* uṭhā. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 33.) Zamīn par *girte hī* uskī haḍḍī-paslī cūr-cūr ho gaī. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 18.) - Bengali: Sitāṃśu cale *jetei* Niśā ese ghare ḍhukla. (*Manoj Gupta.*)[18] Tomāder bābur mukh hāt *dhute dhutei* tãr saṅge je du-cārṭe kathā āche sere āsi. (*A. Siṃha,* l. c., p. 125.)

By the emphatic particle *hī* itself no temporal (neither any other adverbial) idea is implied, but just stress is laid on what is expressed by the participle. By the same emphatic particle *hī* manner is stressed in the following instance: Vah rāt bhī use *tākte hī* bīt gaī. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 7.)

Manner or circumstances accompanying the main action may be expressed by the adverbial participle combined with the preposition (postposition) *binā, bilā, be, baġair:*[19] Ve kabhī *binā batāye* aur kisī na kisī ko *binā sāth liye* kahī̃ nahī̃ gaī̃. (*Nāth Sĩh,* Uljhan, p. 107.) *Binā dekhe sune* uske viṣay mẽ koī kyā kah saktā hai ? (*Hindī śabd sāgar* s. v. *dekhnā.*) Bhāṣā *binā* acchī tarah *jāne* vākya-vinyās, muhāv(a)re ādi kaise ṭhīk ho sakte haī̃ ? (*R. C. Śukl.*)[20]

Apart from the phrases with *binā* etc., the adverbial participle rarely appears governed by a postposition:[21] Campā caũk-sī paṛī, mānõ vah *sote se* jagī ho. (*Nāth*

[17] For this case, grammarians have the term „*adverbial* participle". The particle *hī* itself, however, does not convey any adverbial idea and, consequently, cannot convert a not-adverbial participle into an adverbial participle. *S. H. Kellogg* (Grammar[2] p. 446, § 754, 2a) and *E. Greaves* (Hindi Grammar, p. 258, § 225, 4) are right in asssrting that this is just one use of what they call „participle absolute" (Kellogg) or „participle in its absolute form" (Greaves). The adverbial idea is expressed by the very form of the participle.

By the emphatic particle *hī,* both the adverbial and the adjectival participle can be stressed (just as well as any other grammatical form); Maī *baiṭhā hī* thā ki kisī ne merā hāth pakṛā. (*T. Grahame Bailey,* Hindustani Linguaphone Course, Text, p. 27.)

[18] *Manoj Gupta,* Jār lāgi tor ..., *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, āśvin 1344, p. 844.

[19] When governed by a preposition (postposition), the participles are declared by European grammarians, to be „used gerundially as substantives" (*S. H. Kellogg,* Grammar[2] p. 448 f., § 754, 4a: *vinā* satkār *kiye. - E. Greaves,* Grammar, p. 263, § 226, 4: *laṛe binā, - J. Bloch,* L' indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, Paris 1934, p. 266: «Le participe devient ainsi un véritable nom verbal, susceptible d'être déterminé par une postposition».

But, in *sāth liye* and *binā sāth liye* (see the above example), we have the same form (*liye*) used in the same function (adverbial adjunct), *binā* being employed as negation (cf. ansunī=besunī=binā sunī huī, *Hindī śabd sāgar s.* v. *ansunī*). If the participle *liye* is, in *Kellogg's* words, „the participle absolute" (Grammar[2] p. 446, § 754, 2b), then *binā liye* is the same sort of participle used with negation.

J. T. Platts (A Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language, London 1874, p. 340, § 427) believes that „the passive participle, when governed by one of the postpositions *bin, be,* or *baġair,* has in some instances an *active* signification". In fact, the active meaning does not depend upon the use of any postposition. See the author's article *Hindī Participles* etc., AO XVIII, No 4, p. 171 f., 181.

[20] *Rām Candr Śukl,* Hindī-sāhitya kā itihās, Prayāg sāvat 1993, pg, 550.

[21] This use of the adverbial participle is modelled on adverbial phrases like *pahle se, ab se, jab se, ṭhīk samay par, āne par* etc. Cf. *tyāg hue par bhī,* in the above instance, with *khojne par bhī,* in the following: Uske aisā var *khojne par bhī* Dulārī ke lie nahī̃ milegā. (*V. Ś. Vyās,* Aśānt, Laheriyāsarāy, sāvat 1984, p. 3.)

Apart from the postpositional phrases with *par,* adverbial participle *without* the postposition *par* is found, too, in the same function: Nainā kī bāl-prakṛti is kūṭinīti ke *jhukāye* na jhukī. (*Prem Cand,* Karm$^{(a)}$bhūmi, p. 11.) Yah sab *hote hue bhī* Vidyāpati ke pīche hīdī mẽ thoṛe dinõ tak Kr̥ṣn$^{(a)}$bhakti kī kavitā nahī̃ huī. (*Ś. S. Dās,* Hindī bhāṣā aur sāhitya, Prayāg, sāvat 1994, p. 262.)

Sīh, Uljhan, p. 260.) Śakuntalā apnā anādar aur tyāg *hue par* bhī is rājā ke virah mẽ vyathit ho rahī hai. (*L. Sīh*, Śakuntalā, p. 91.) Cf. Bengali: Āmi cale *gele parei* tini elen. (*W. S. Page.*)[22]

The adverbial participle functions, secondarily, as *object* of the verb *ḍarnā*, though the primary adverbial function of the participle is not quite lost:[23] Vah jāne-māne mārg ko choṛkar anjān rāste par pā̃v *rakhte* ḍartī thī. (*Prem Cand*, Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 17.)

In the same way, the idiomatic use of *bacnā* in complex expressions with the imperfective adverbial participle can be explained: *Marte-marte* bacā. (*Prem Cand*, Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 215.) Sīhnī kī bhā̃ti jhapaṭkar usne Salīm ko aisā dhakkā diyā ki vah *girte-girte* bacā. (*Prem Cand*, Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 354.) Cf. *girne se* bacnā.

The primary adverbial function of the adverbial participle is retained in construction with *lajānā, lajjā* (*śarm*) *ātī hai.* In Bengali, however, the participle appears as subject.[24] Hindī: Ham yah *kahte* lajātī haĩ ki kabhī phir bhī darśan denā. (*L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 18.) Tumhẽ aisī bāt mũh se *nikālte* śarm bhī nahĩ ātī! (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 134.) *Kahte* lajjā ātī hai. (*M. L. Nehrū, Sarasvatī,* ākṭ. 1936, p. 352.) - Bengali: Bhikṣe *karte* ki tomār lajjā karche nā? (*W. S. Page.*)[25]

In construction with *burā* (*acchā*) *lagnā,* the adverbial participle functions as *subject.* The primary adverbial force of the participle is, again, easily to be seen: Jān paṛtā hai ki mere lie kharc *karte* aur merā sukh *dekhte* tum ko burā lagtā hai. (*Greaves,* Grammar, p. 253 and 258.) Bengali: Deśe deśe chuṭe *beṛāte* bhālo lāge nā. (*Kṣitīś Rāy.*)[26]

When combined with *bannā,* the adverbial participle also appears, secondarily, as subject: He mũd(a)rī, tujhe kyõkar us hāth se *girte* banā ? (*L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 97.) Mujh se to na *kahte* banegā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 8.)

In Bengali, the use of the imperfective participle as *subject* (e.g. after *bhāla lāgā,* see above) and *object* (after *pārā, pāoyā, cāoyā, bhāla-basā*, *deoyā, balā, lāgā, śuru karā* etc.) is far more extended than in Hindī, as the Bengali imperfective participle replaces not only the Hindī imperfective adverbial (and, to some extent,

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Thus, there is no necessity to see a verbal noun instead of the adverbial participle, in the postpositional phrases.

In the same way, the (rare) occurrence of an adverbial participle governed by the postposition *mẽ* can be explained: *anjāne mẽ* (*Hindī śabd sāgar* s. v. *ajñāt*) as compared with *binā jāne* (*Hindī śabd sāgar,* ibidem), or *mere jāne* (*Kellogg,* Grammar[2] p. 423, § 705.) Cf. also the lakhimpuri idiom *hamāre khāt ma dundu na macāo* (quoted by J. *Bloch,* L'indo-aryen, p. 266). There is no necessity to take, with *Jules Bloch,* the form *khāt* as „un veritable nom verbal".

An illustration for the Hindī adverbial participle governed by a postposition (without becoming a verbal noun) can be seen in the Czech idioms *vleže, vstoje, vkleče, vsedě,* modelled on adverbial phrases *v klidu, v tichu, ve vodorovné poloze* etc. Cf. *F. Trávníček,* Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, 3rd ed., Praha 1951, p. 1430, § 843, 6.

[22] *W. Sutton Page,* An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali, Cambridge 1934, p. 163.

[23] In main European languages, we have infinitive instead of participle. In Czech, the primary *adverbial* force of the infinitive often holds up even when the infinitive functions as object of the main verb. See *F. Trávníček,* Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, 3rd ed., Praha 1951, p. 1415, § 836, 4, 5.

[24] Here, again, the Hindī (and Bengali) adverbial participle replaces the infinitive of European languages. In Old Greek, however, there is both infinitival and participial construction, with distinction in meaning: *αἰσχύνομαι ποιῶν* „schäme mich zu tun", d. h. „tue mit Scham", *αἰσχύνομαι ποιεῖν* „schäme mich zu tun", d. h. „unterlasse aus Scham". Cf. *E. Kieckers,* Historische griechische Grammatik, IV, Syntax, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, p. 90.

[25] *W. Sutton Page,* Bengali (Linguaphone Miniature Language Series), London 1932, p. 17.

[26] *Kṣitīś Rāy,* Megh(a)mālā, *Sahaj pāṭh* III, 3. sāskaraṇ, Kalikātā 1351, p. 59.

adjectival) participle, but also the Hindī verbal noun and the gerundive. One example, at least: Cādarṭi pete jekhānei ārām ka're *baste cāy, śunte* pāy, sekhānei phasaler khet, bīj põtā haye geche. Kebali uṭhe *jete* hay, sare *jete* hay. (*R. Ṭhākur.*)[27]

Another instance of adverbial participle replacing the infinitive of European languages is after the verbs *dekhnā, sunnā, pānā, jānnā* etc., the participle denoting the circumstances, state or action of the *direct object* of the main verb:[28] Unhõne Śīlā ko saṛak par idhar-udhar *ṭahalte* dekhā thā. (*Nāth Sĩh,* Uljhan, p. 76.) Āpko dhanuṣ *caṛhāe* dekhtā hũ. (*L. Sĩh,* Śakuntalā, p. 1.) Maĩne devajananī apsarā ko Śakuntalā se yah *kahte* sunā thā ki ... tū apne pati ke sneh se śīghr hī ānād pāvegī. (*L. Sĩh*, Śakuntalā, p. 107.) Bhṛgu ne jab apne putr Cyavan ṛsi ko byāh *kiye* dekhā to ve baṛe prasann hune. (*Hariścandr.*)[29] - Bengali:[30] Āmi tāke *āste* dekhechilum. (*W. S. Page,* Coll. Bengali, p. 162.)

Instead of the adverbial participle, an adjectival participle agreeing in case and gender with the direct object it qualifies may be used, after the same verbs:[31] Śakuntalā ko *jātī* dekhkar rājā khaṛā socne lagā. (*L. Sĩh,* Śakuntalā, p. 82.)

Besides, participle in *-ā* is found in the same construction, irrespectively of the gender and case of the direct object it qualifies: Mālik ab mujhe *jītā* na choṛẽge. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 5.) Maĩ ne ek gāṛī ko kīcaṛ mẽ *phãsā huā pāyā.* (*T. Grahame Bailey,* Hind. Linguaph. Course, Text, p. 51.)

If the stress is laid upon the participle itself, i.e. upon the action expressed by the participle, the agent of this action (= primarily the direct object of the main verb) is omitted as irrelevant and its function, in the syntactical construction, is taken by the participle itself.[32] In this case, only the *adverbial* participle may be used: *Karte* bhī sunā hai? (*E. Greaves,* Grammar, p. 259.) Tumne kabhī aisā *hote* dekhā hai? (*L. Sĩh,* Śakuntalā, p. 124.)

The adverbial participle in complex verbal expressions.

honā: Vah bhī hāth *joṛe* thī. (*Nāth Sĩh,* Uljhan, p. 204.) Banmānus śikārī kī or ãkhẽ *jamāe hue* thā. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 11.)

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[27] *Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur,* Lipikā, Kalikātā 1352, p. 59.

[28] *F. Trávníček* (Mluvnice spisovné češtiny, 3rd ed., Praha 1951, p. 1411, § 835, 6) takes the infinitive after *slyšeti, viděti etc.* as adverbial adjunct denoting the accompanying circumstances: *slyším* tě *zpívati* (= slyším tě za jakých okolností? - když, jak zpíváš, za zpěvu).

[29] *Bhāratendu Hariścandr,* Satyahariścandr nāṭak, 8. sãsk., Prayāg 1929, up(a)kram p. 4.

[30] *Jules Bloch* (L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, p. 266) writes: „ *... tāhāke jāite dekhilām* «je l'ai vu aller», où il ne faut pas voir dans *jāite* une apposition à *tāhāke* comme p. ex. dans hindi *maĩ ne laṛke ko calte hue dekhā* «par moi fut vu le garçon allant»".

In fact, taking *calte hue* as *adverbial* participle, the Hindī syntactical construction does not differ from the Bengali idiom.

But, in Hindī, an *adjectival* participle agreeing in case and gender with the direct object it qualifies may be used, instead: Śakuntalā ko *jātī* dekhkar... (*L. Sĩh,* Śak., p. 82.)

[31] To the participial construction in Sanskrit, see the remark of *Jules Bloch* (L'indo-aryen, p. 312): «Dans cet emploi il s'appose au sujet ou au complément, surtout au régime direct. Il marque la coincidence dans: RV. aruṇó mā *... yántam* dadárśa hí «le Rouge m'a vu tandis que j'allais».

A short notice about this participial construction in Indo-European languages, old and modern (with the same quotation from RV.: aruṇó mā sakṛd vṛkah pathā *yántam* dadárśa hi) see in: *E. Kieckers,* Historische griechische Grammatik, IV, Syntax, 2. Teil, Berlin und Leipzig 1926, p. 89-91.

[32] In *Jespersen's* terminology, we could say simply: the dependent nexus disappears (or becomes latent). Cf. *Otto Jespersen,* Analytic Syntax, London 1937, p. 52 ff.

In Bengali, the complex verbal expression of the type *base āche, kā̃pte thāke, śuye thāke* convey a special aspect ideas, denoting actual state, habit and continuation respectively: Se ghare giye dekhle dādā tār cokh buje *śuye* āche. (*Manoj Gupta.*)[33] Āmi to *ghumiye* chilām. (*Manoj Basu.*)[34] Śītkāle jakhan utture hāoyā dey, samasta śarīr hī hī ka're *kā̃pte* thāke. Mane hay, sārākṣaṇ ba'se ba'se āgun pohāi athabā lep muṛi diye *śuye* thāki. (*Kṣitīś Rāy.*)[35]

rahnā: Nāk mẽ nākkīl kī jagah par sĩk kā ṭukṛā *choṛe* rahtī thī. Svabhāv se vah baṛī hās-mukh thī, par Bhramar kā vyav(a)hār use aksar udās *banāye* rahtā thā. (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 32.) - Bengali: Sāgarī ār tār mā pradīp jvāliye sārā rāt cup kare *ba'se* raïla. (*Kṣitīś Rāy.*)[36]

The construction of the adverbial perfective participle with *denā, lenā, ḍālnā, baiṭhnā, rakhnā* is parallel to the construction of the absolutive (transgressive, „conjunctive participle") with the same verbs. The participial complex expression conveys emphasis laid upon the action denoted by the participle.[37] The construction with the absolutive (in *stem* form) is more common.

denā: Choṛ do, *kahe* detā hū̃, choṛ do! (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 211. Cf. choṛ denā: kahe denā.) Maĩ fīs *diye* detā hū̃. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 7. Cf. de denā: diye denā.) - Bengali: Tā *ba'le* dicchi. (*Ā. Simha.*)[38] Ekṭā kāj *kare* debe, bhāi? (*Upendranāth Dās.*)[39] Ghumucchilen - michimichi *jāgiye* dilām. (*Manoj Basu.*)[40]

lenā: Duṣyant: „Lo maĩ tīr ko *utāre* letā hū̃." (Bāṇ utār liyā.) (*L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 3; cf. utāre lenā: utār lenā.) - Bengali: Naren paketṭ haïte noṭbuk bāhir kariyā ṭhikānā *likhiyā* laiteche. (*Ā. Siṃha.*)[41] Jata khuśī *kheye* nik. (*Manoj Basu.*)[42]

ḍālnā: Yah to badhik kī bhā̃ti mujhe *māre* ḍāltā thā. (*L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 111. Cf. mār ḍālnā.) - Bengali: Se tāke *mere* phelechila. (*W. Sutton Page,* Coll. Bengali, p. 158.)

baiṭhnā: Tū aisī besudh dhyān *lagāe* baiṭhī hai. (*L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 49.) Cf. kar baiṭhnā: Yah vyaṅg bolne mẽ baṛī pravīṇ hai aur kisī ko bhī dekhtī hai to uskī nazar mẽ apnī yah pravīṇ(a)tā siddh karne ke lie jaldī kar baiṭhtī hai. (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 48.) - Bengali: Se bhārī bhul *kare* basla. (*W. Sutton Page,* Coll. Bengali, p. 159.)

rakhnā: Antarrāṣṭrīy śānti evā surakṣā *banāye* rakhnā (*K. Paṇḍyā.*)[43] Cf. kar rakhnā: Mālūm nahī̃ āpne unhẽ kyõ nārāz kar rakkhā hai. (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 49.) - Bengali: Bhāisrayer spīcṭā *paṛe* rekho. (*Ā. Siṃha,* Surer utsa, p. 109.) Kintu Indirā āro katadin āmāke apekṣā *kariye* rākhbe ? (*Ā. Siṃha,* Surer utsa, p. 115.)

The adverbial perfective participle of transitive verbs in complex expressions with *jānā* is rarely found (as in *Kahe jā!, L. Sīh,* Śakuntalā, p. 37.) As a rule, both the

[33] *Manoj Gupta,* Jār lāgi tor ... *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, āśvin 1344, p. 845.

[34] *Manoj Basu,* Ekṭi rātrir pāṭhābhyās, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1343, p. 13.

[35] *Kṣitīś Rāy,* Barapher deś. *Sahaj pāṭh* III, 3. sāsk., Kalikātā 1351, p. 28.

[36] *Kṣitīś Rāy,* Megh(a)mālā, *Sahaj pāṭh* III, 3. sāsk., Kalikātā 1351, p. 56.

[37] There is no need to explain this emphasis by supposing that the emphatic particle *hī* was, originally, included into the construction, then *h* elided and the concurrent vowels contracted (*Kellogg,* Grammar, 2nd ed., p. 448, § 754, 3, Rem. l: *kahe detā hū̃* is either for *kahā hī detā hū̃* or *kah hī detā hū̃*). The emphasis may be due to the fact that the participial construction is more rare than that one with the absolutive.

[38] *Āśālatā Siṃha,* Surer utsa, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1344, p. 126.

[39] *Upendranāth Dās,* Śahure īdur o gẽyo īdur, *Sahaj pāṭh* III, 3. sāsk., Kalikātā 1351, p. 14.

[40] *Manoj Basu,* Ekṭi rātrir pāṭhābhyās, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1343, p. 13.

[41] *Āśālatā Siṃha,* Surer utsa, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1344, p. 125.

[42] *Manoj Basu,* Ekṭi rātrir pāṭhābhyās, *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, kārttik 1343, p. 14.

[43] *Karuṇāśākar Paṇḍyā,* Rāṣṭr-sāgh kī sāmanya pariṣad. *Viśva-darśan;* Dillī navambar 1948, p. 41.

participle and the main verb are to be taken separately: Ai bahan, zarā to *sune* jāo! (*M. L. Nehrū.*)[44] - Bengali: Ogo bāchā, ekṭu dā̃ṛāo nā, āmāder ekṭā kathā *śune* jāo! (*W. Sutton Page,* p. 178: Don't go on till you've heard something we've got to say.)

Adverbial participle used attributively and appositionally.

Attributive construction (rare): Khūbsūrat garmāhaṭ *liye hue* basant kī śām. (*Amṛt Rāy.*)[45] Phir sab kuch gāyab ho jātā hai - dīvār, davā *liye* aurat aur vah lambā nātsī sipāhī. (*Amṛt Rāy,* Phā̃sī ke takhte se, p. 12.) Gale mẽ phā̃sī ḍāle hue aur nīce ko mũh *kiye hue* apne bhāī ko dekh kar. (*Greaves,* Grammar, p. 263.) - Bengali: *geye* (*gāiye*) *bājiye* lok. (*J. M. Dās.*)[46]

Appositional construction: Rādhā gāl *phulāye,* sir par phaṭī sāṛī *pahne,* pair nãge, khāne kā sāmān lākar mez par rakh rahī hai. (*M. L. Nehrū, Sarasvatī,* ākṭ. 1936, p. 355.)

Adverbs developed from adverbial participles.

In its most common use, as an adverbial adjunct of the predicate, the adverbial participle replaces an adverbial clause. This force of the participle is lost in prepositional phrases (*sote se*) and in complex verbal expressions (see above). A few participles are deprived of any force of an adverbial clause even when not included into any phrase or complex expression. These participles have no more force than an adverb:[47] *ulṭe* = viruddh kram se (*Hindī śabd sāgar* a. v.), *dekhte dekhte* = ā̃khõ ke sāmne, turant (*Hindī śabd sāgar* s. v. *dekhnā*). Cāhiye to yah thā ki ve apne kiye par pachtāte magar ve *ulṭe* bigaṛ uṭhe. (*Prem Cand,* Jāgal kī kahāniyā̃, p. 25.) *Dekhte dekhte* Dulārī kā vivāh ho gayā, bālak utpann huā, pati kī mṛtyu bhī ho gaī! (*V. Ś. Vyās,* Aśānt, p. 41.) -Bengali: Bhorer belā deba nauko cheṛe, *dekhte dekhte* kothāy jāba bhese: (*R. Ṭhākur.*)[48]

The subject (agent) and the object of the adverbial participle.

Following the use of adverbs in general, the adverbial participle, when constructed predicatively, defines the main verb and is not bound to any agreement with any noun, as it is indeclinable. Hence the variety of combinations.

The agent of *a related* adverbial participle in predicative construction is expressed (ex definitione, see above) by the nominative (= the subject of the main verb) or by the case of the agent (= the agent of the main verb, at the same time) or by the accusative (= the direct object of the main verb): Yah *kahte hue* Lalit hãsne lagā. (*V. Ś. Vyās,* Aśānt, p. 22.) Yah *kahte hue* ek āh khī̃ckar Dulārī ne mastak nīcā kar liyā. (*V. Ś. Vyās,* Aśānt, p. 20.) Unhõ ne Śīlā ko saṛak par idhar-udhar *ṭahalte* dekhā thā. (*Nāth Sīh,* Uljhan, p. 76.)

The agent of an *unrelated* adverbial participle is put in the nominative or in the genitive or in other case according to the construction of the sentence.

Nominative: Merī jān *rahte* koī tumhārā bāl bhī bā̃kā nahī̃ kar saktā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 104.) Amar Kānt kā Sukhadā se vivāh *hue* do sāl ho cuke the.

[44] *Mohan Lāl Nehrū,* Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī,* Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 353.
[45] *J. Fučík-Amṛt Rāy,* Phā̃sī ke takhte se, Banāras (year not indicated), p. 3.
[46] *Jñānendra Mohan Dās,* Bāṅgālā bhāṣār abhidhān, Kalikātā (year not indicated), s.v. *gāiye.*
[47] Cf. similar development of the absolutives *milke, jānke* etc.
[48] *Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur,* Naukājātrā, *Sahaj pāṭh* III, 3. sāsk., Kalikātā 1351, p. 33.

(*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 16.) Salīm ne itnī rāt *gaye* rup(a)ye lānā munāsib na samjhā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 68.) - Bengali: Sitāṃśu cale *jetei* Niśā ese ghare ḍhukla. (*Manoj Gupta.*)[49]

Genitive:[50] Unke mere sāmne *āte* hī māre lajjā ke mere prāṇ nikal jāyẽge. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 83.) Gāṛī ke khaṛe *hote* hī sab qulī cācal ho uṭhe. (*Nāth Sĩh,* Uljhan, p. 147.) Nainā kī bāl-prakr̥ti is kūṭinīti ke *jhukāye* na jhukī. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 11.) - Bengali: Tãr *āste* ekhana ghaṇṭā-duyek deri. (*Ā. Siṃha,* Surer utsa, p. 134.)

Dative:[51] Abkī use *āye* chaḥ mahīne ho gaye the. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 17.) Ham logõ ko bāt *karte* der na huī ki Moh'nā Indr bankar ā pahũcā. (*Hariścandr.*)[52]

Dative or *ablative* is used to express the agent of the adverbial participle combined with *bannā:* He mũd(a)rī, tujhe kyõkar us hāth se *girte* banā? (*L. Sĩh,* Śakuntalā, p. 97.) Mujh se to na *kahte* banegā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 8.) Us se inkār na *karte* bantā. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 25.)

The direct object governed by the adverbial participle is put in *accusative,*[53] sporadically in *genitive.*[54]

Accusative: Bhramar safed paijāmā *pahne* thā. (*Nāth Sĩh,* Uljhan, p. 71.) Sāmne kitābẽ *khole* jānvarõ kī carcā kar rahe the. (*Prem Cand,* Jãgal kī kahāniyã̃, p. 16.) Patr *likhe* cār din ho gaye. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi p. 229.)

Genitive: Is sundarī jiske *dekhte* hī man hāth se niklā jātā hai tapasvinī banānā aisā hai jaise nīl kamal kī pakhurī se sūkhā chõkar kāṭnā. (*L. Sĩh,* Śakuntalā, p. 7.)

The use of the adverbial participle in *Jāyasī's Padumāvatī.*

In the recently published[55] 106 caupāīs of „the oldest Hindī poet about whom any uncontested information is available",[56] about 43 instances of the adverbial

[49] *Manoj Gupta,* Jār lāgi tor ..., *Prabāsī,* Kalikātā, āśvin 1344, p. 844.

[50] This construction is modelled upon adverbial phrases, cf. *unke āte: unke āne par,* or *unke pīche, unke nīce etc.*

The participial phrase can be governed by a postposition, following in this case, too, the model of adverbial phrases (*unke pīche se* etc.) Thus can be explained the lakhimpuri idiom *hamāre khāt ma dundu na macāo,* quoted by *J. Bloch,* L'indo-aryen, p. 266, and translaied «ne faites pas de bruit (dans mon mangeant) pendant que je mange». There is no need, however, to take the participle, with *Jules Bloch,* as «un véritable nom verbal».

[51] The dative construction is modelled on sentences like *is hādse ko muśkil se mahīna hī huā thā* (*T. Grahame Bailey,* Hindustani Linguaph. Course, Text, p. 60).

The agent (subject) of the participle may be omitted as understood from the context: Patr *likhe* cār din ho gaye. (*Prem Cand,* Karm[(a)]bhūmi, p. 229.)

An illustration of the dative construction can be taken from Serbian: *Teško vuku ne jedući mesa!* „woe to the wolf when not eating flesh", i.e. which does not eat flesh. *Milan Rešetar - Václav Hroník,* Mluvnice jazyka srbocharvátského, Praha 1945, p. 121.

[52] *Bhāratendu Hariścandr,* Satyahariścandr nāṭak, 8. sãsk., Prayāg 1929, p. 4.

[53] It may be surprising to find *adverbial* participles governing object in accusative, while *adverbs* do not demand this construction. The answer is that the verbal force of the adverbial participle (originally verbal adjective) is not quite lost. Hence, in Bengali, the perfective participle takes all the functions of the Hindī absolutive („conjunctive participle").

[54] The genitival construction is modelled on adverbial phrases like *-ke kāraṇ, -ke hetu, -ke nīce* etc. With a related adverbial participle, this construction does not occur, and even with an unrelated adverbial participle it may be considered as an exception.

participle (26 imperfective and 17 perfective participle) are found. Unfortunately, this number cannot be taken for certain, as the masculine imperfective participle has the same form both for the direct and for the oblique case, in Avadhī.

In the *Padumāvatī,* the adverbial participle functions, syntactically, nearly always as adverbial adjunct of the predicate, expressing the adverbial relations of time, manner, cause or condition. The imperfective adverbial participle is in 19 instances unrelated, in seven instances related. The perfective adverbial participle is in nine instances unrelated, in eight instances related. We quote some examples.

Related imperfective adverbial participle:

Khaṃjana chapē dēkhi kai nayanā;
Kōkila chapī *sunata* madhu bayanā. 33,3.

„The wagtails (khaṃjana) hid themselves, on seeing her eyes; the koel hid herself on hearing her sweet voice." (*Dhar's* translation, p. 163.)

Unrelated imperfective adverbial participle:

Asa tapa *karata* gaeu dina bhārī;
Cāri pahara bītē juga cārī. 24,1.

„While thus undergoing austerities the day passed drearily; the four watches (quarters) of the day passed as slowly as four ages (aeons). (*Dhar,* p. 158.)

Related perfective adverbial participle:

Rahauṃ akeli *gahē* ēka pāṭī;
Nayana pasāri marauṃ hiya phātī. 78,3.

„I am alone and remain clinging to one side of the couch; my eyes are wide open and I am dying brokenhearted." (*Dhar, p.* 185.)

Unrelated perfective adverbial participle:

Uē Agasta hasti ghana gājā;
Turaya palāni caḍhē rana rājā. 79,3.

„At the rise of star Canopus (Agastya) the cloud elephant has thundered; having harnessed their horses, kings have marched to the battlefield." (*Dhar,* p. 186.)

In one instance, there is the adverbial participle used predicatively with the copula:

Tūṃ *līnhe* āchasi mana dūvā;
Au juga sāri cahasi puni chūvā. 43,5.

„You have always entertained the throw of two (duality or suspicion) in your mind; and you desire to touch again the pair of dice." (*Dhar, p.* 168.) In another instance, the adverbial participle is joined with the preposition *binu:*

Jehi mili bichurana au tapani aṃta hoi jau niṃta;
Tēhi mili gaṃjana kō sahai, baru *binu milē* niciṃta. 43 8.

[55] *Lakshmi Dhar,* Padumāvatī. A Linguistic Study of the 16th Century Hindi (Avadhi). London 1949.

[56] *L. Dhar,* Padumāvatī, London 1949, Preface, p. ix - Cf. *G. A. Grierson - S. Dvivedi,* Malik Muhammad Jaisi, The Padumāwati, Vol. I, Calcutta 1911, Introduction, p. 1.

„If after meeting someone there is always separation and sorrow (burning) in the end; who will suffer the pain of meeting that person? Better remain carefree without the meeting.“ (*Dhar,* p. 168.)

The agent (subject) of the action expressed by the participle is put in the nominative except one instance:

Hauṃ so bāri au dulahini pīu so taruna au tēja;
Nā jānauṃ kasa hōihi *caḍhata kaṃta kē* sēja. 31,8.

„I am so tender a bride and my lord is so young and bright (full of vigour) I know not what will happen when my lord mounts the couch.“ (*Dhar,* p. 162.) The nominative construction see e.g. above, caupāī 79,3.

The direct object of the action expressed by the adverbial participle is put in the accusative (see above caupāī 33,3; 24,1; 78,3; 43,5) except one instance:

Sunu dhani, pēma *surā kē piē;*
Marana jīvana ḍara rahai na hiē. 51,1.

„O lady, listen! on drinking the wine of love, in the heart there remains fear neither of life nor of death.“ (*Dhar,* p. 172.)

It is worth noticing that adverbs like *asa, aise, jasa, jaise* etc. are used in the same way as the adverbial participles:

Jasa hērata yaha paṃkhī hērānā;
Dina eka hamahuṃ *asa* karaba payānā. 105,4.

„As this bird disappeared (suddenly) from sight so one day we also must go.“ (*Dhar,* p. 199.)

Calahu bēgi āyasu bhā *jaisē;*
Kaṃta bulāvai rahiē *kaisē.* 32,6.

„Hasten, as you have been commanded, if the lord summons, how can one stay ?“ (*Dhar,* p. 162.)

Thus, in the 16th century Avadhī, we find the same syntactical use of the adverbial participle as in the modern Hindī.

Regarding both the form and the uses of the Hindī participles, in modern as well as in old language, we believe to divide the Hindī participles for good reasons into two groups, the adjectival and the adverbial participles. The term *„adverbial* participle“ we prefere as a concise definition of the form and of the use of the participle.

T. Grahame Bailey[57] and *A. H. Harley*[58] are prolix in describing the form and do not indicate the syntactical function of the participle in „the singular masculine inflected form“. But, in the case of adverbs like *aise, nīce, pahle* etc., they do not use to speak of „the singular masculine inflected form“. We do not see reasons good enough to apply this diffuse terminology to the participles, instead of speaking simply of „the *adverbial* participles“.[59]

[57] *T. Grahame Bailey,* Hindustani (Urdu) Grammar, Linguaphone Language Course, London 1934, p. 34: „The participle... inflected in *-e* (invariable).“

[58] *A. H. Harley - J. R. Firth,* Colloquial Hindustani, London 1946, p. 52: „The participle ... in the singular masculine inflected form.“

[59] In the last moment, we received the book *T. Grahame Bailey - J. R. Firth - A. H. Harley,* Teach Yourself Hindustani, London 1950.

In this book, we read on p. 190: „When the participle indicates a state, especially when used adverbially, and above all when it is repeated, it is often put in the oblique masculine singular. See Nos. 32-42."

Under Nos. 32-42 (p. 196), instances of adverbial participles (along with adjectival participles) are found where the adverbial participle is used as an adverbial adjunct of predicate replacing an adverbial clause. E.g. No. 39: *roṭī pakāte pakāte thak gaī* (or *pakātī pakātī*).

In one instance (No. 42), the participle is combined with the emphatic particle *hī: maĩ pahũcte hī kām band karā dũgā.*

Thus, two formally and syntactically different cases are mixed together: a) the adjectival participle used predicatively to define the subject of the sentence (*roṭī pakātī pakātī thak gaī;* besides, Nos. 32, 34, 37); b) the adverbial participle used as adverbial adjunct to define the main verb of the sentence (*roṭī pakāte pakāte thak gaī; pahũcte hī;* besides, Nos. 33, 35, 36, 40).

About the „absolute participle" we find a notice on p. 198: „Participle used absolutely, the noun used with the participle being different from the subject of the sentence. The absolute participle is always oblique masculine singular. Participle affirmative. See Nos. 10-23."

Under Nos. 10-23, instances are found, e.g. No. 10: *sir jhukāe, hāth baṛhāe, ā rahī thī.* No. 13: *bahin, bacce ko god mẽ lie, khel rahī thī.*

The formulation „the noun used with the participle being different from the subject of the sentence" is very loose and inaccurate. Is „the noun used with the participle" a subject (agent) or an object of the action expressed by the participle? Taking e.g. *sir, hāth, bacce ko,* in the quoted instances (*sir jhukāe, hāth baṛhāe, bacce ko god mẽ lie*) as the object of the participle, there is no need to speak of an „absolute participle".

The adverbial participle (*jhukāe, baṛhāe, lie*) has an *active* meaning (see the author's article, *Hindī Participles* etc., AO XVIII No. 4, p. 171-172 [in this volume, see supra, pp. 65-66]). *Platts'* explanation (*Grammar of the Hindūstānī or Urdū Language,* London 1874, § 421, 2, b, p. 334: *Us dare ko maĩ apnī qabr samjhe hue thā,* lit. „I existed, that defile thought my grave") is over-refined and forcible.

NOTES ON R. N. VALE'S THEORY OF VERBAL COMPOSITION IN HINDĪ, BENGALI, GUJARĀTĪ AND MARĀṬHĪ

Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute published a remarkable study on verbal composition in Indo-Aryan by RAMCHANDRA NARAYAN VALE, M. A., B. T., Ph. D. (Bombay). The book appeared in *Deccan College Dissertation Series,* Poona 1948.[1] The author, lecturer in Sanskrit, *Karnatak College, Dharwar,* sometime lecturer in Sanskrit, *Elphinstone College, Bombay,* planned the work in 1940 and finished it in 1945 under the guidance of Dr. S. M. KATRE (Preface, p. v). Having confined his attention to the verbal composition, he collected the data from Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Hindī, taking into account the auxiliaries as used with all types of verbs or verbal derivatives. Almost all examples obtaining in standard dictionaries, grammars and older works of literature were searched out and, in addition, examples from spoken Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Hindī were incorporated (Introduction, p. 2). This study was further extended to Avadhī, Bhojpurī, Oriyā, Bengali, Assamese, Bihārī, Nepālī, Kaśmīrī, Panjābī, Sindhī and Singhalese. Trying to discover the previous history of the auxiliaries, the author traced their development through the Middle Indo-Aryan and Old Indo-Aryan stages. In order to evaluate the view of Dr. S. K. CHATTERJI that the verbal composition in NIA is a Dravidian contribution, R. N. VALE collected the data from Tamil, Maḷayālam, Kannaḍa, Telugu and Tuḷu and completed his study by a comparative survey of verbal composition in Dravidian.

In his book, R. N. VALE goes from the present to the past, and in treating the NIA languages, he proceeds from his nearest, Marāṭhī, to the remotest, Singhalese. The study of verbal composition in Marāṭhī is most extensive (chapter 1, p. 6-46), next comes Gujarātī (chapter 2, p. 47-71) and Hindī (ch. 3, p. 72-107; Avadhī, Bhojpurī and Braj p. 107-115). In chapter 4 the author examines the verbal composition in other NIA languages (Oriyā, Bengali, Assamese, Bihārī, Nepālī, Kaśmīrī, Panjābī, Sindhī and Singhalese, p. 116-172). Chapter 5 is a comparative study of NIA verbal composition dealing with etymologies of verb-auxiliaries in NIA (part I, p. 173-196) and producing an index of NIA auxiliaries (p. 197-202) as well as sixteen comparative tables (part II, p. 203-234). In ch. 6 the author investigates the historical evolution of verbal composition in OIA and MIA (p. 235-272) and in ch. 7 presents a comparative survey of verbal composition in Dravidian (p. 273-315). The dissertation is closed by the author's conclusions

[1] RAMCHANDRA NARAYAN VALE, *Verbal Composition in Indo-Aryan.* Deccan College Dissertation Series 6. Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute, Poona 1948. Pp. XII + 324. 4^0. Price Rs 18.

Remark. The reader will kindly excuse the way of transliteration in these Notes on R. N. VALE's theory. For lack of extra letters of roman type the Bengali *„antastha ja"* is written *j*.

(p. 316-317) and by select bibliography (grammars, dictionaries, literary works, general books on linguistics, journals, p. 318-324).

„What then is a pure verb-compound?" asks R. N. VALE (p. 245) and answers immediately: „A compound that functions as a verb in a sentence is a pure verb-compound. The final member of such a compound at any rate must be a finite verb." But the final member is not a finite verb in negative verbal expressions like Marāṭhī *karī-nā* „does not do" found among VALE's verbal compounds on p. 24, or like Gujarātī *tame evũ kām kartā̃ nā* „you don't do this act" (p. 59) etc. Presumably, R. N. VALE will answer that these verbal expressions are no „pure verb-compounds" or no „full-fledged compounds" as defined in the Introduction („the full-fledged compounds of the nature of non-finite + finite verbs," p. 3). A negative result must also be expected when applying VALE's definition of „full-fledged compounds" to „Desubstantives" like Mar. *pravās kar-* „to travel" (p. 10), Guj. *arpaṇ kar-* „to offer as a gift" (p. 49), Hindī *ārambh kar-* „to commence" (p. 75) etc. etc.

But are all groups of the nature non-finite + finite verbs to be taken as „full-fledged compounds"? In VALE's view, there is one condition: „The semantic unity alone is the *sine qua non* of composition whether nominal or verbal." (Introduction p. 4; cf. p. 241, 317.) Do we go on asking what a „semantic unity" is, we shall find no answer in VALE's text. Anyhow, we are compelled to infer from what is found in VALE's list of „verb-compounds" that, by a „semantic unity", he does not mean a semantic *unit.* The Hindī verb *karnā* „to do" is certainly a semantic unit. From this semantic unit, the following „verb-compounds" (= „semantic unities") are found in VALE's list: *karte ā-* „keep on doing" (p. 72), *karne mẽ ā-* „to be done" (p. 73), *kar ā-* „to do and come, return from doing" (p. 73), *kiyā kar-* „to do continually or constantly" (p. 74), *kiyā cāh-* „to wish to do or to be about to do" (p. 77), *karnā cāh-* „to wish to do" (p. 77), *kiyā* or *karnā cāhiye* „ought to do" (p. 78), *kar cuk-* „to do off" (p. 78), *ārambh kar-* „to commence" (p. 75), *karne lag-* „to begin to do" (p. 101), *maĩ kartā hū̃* „I am doing," *vah kartā hogā* „he must be doing," *jo tum karte ho* „had you been doing" (p. 106), *maĩ ne kiyā hai* „I have done" (p. 107) etc. etc.

Thus, complex verbal expressions (*ārambh kar-*), compound tenses (*maĩ kartā hū̃, vah kartā hogā* etc.), participial constructions (*karte ā-, kiyā kar-* etc.), absolutival constructions (*kar ā-, kar cuk-* etc.), gerundial constructions (*karne mẽ ā-, karne lag-* etc.) and gerundival constructions (*karnā cāhiye* etc.), in short, disparate grammatical categories are to be considered - in VALE's opinion - as „verb-compounds".

How are these „verb-compounds" classified? In the first place, the „auxiliary" was taken into consideration. What is an „auxiliary"? VALE's definition runs (p. 254): „An auxiliary is the second member of a verb-compound which, as a finite verb, supplies different stages and aspects (of action) to the main verb, in the non-finite form." This definition does not apply to negative particles; still, they have been inserted among auxiliaries. Neither does this definition apply to „Desubstantives" (like *ārambh karnā* etc. etc.). In this case, the verb helping to form „Desubstantives" was taken as an „auxiliary".

The „auxiliaries" of single languages are arranged alphabetically: Marāṭhī has 72 „auxiliaries", Gujarātī 63, Hindī 69 etc. etc. The number of „auxiliaries" for all the examined NIA languages is 483.

All „auxiliaries" are not equally productive: with Marāṭhī auxiliary *as-* „to be" about 36 meaning-aspects can be expressed, with Mar. *jā-* „to go" 14, with Mar.

ye- „to come“ 15, with Mar. *ho-* „to be, become“ 21, with Guj. *cha-* „to be“ 12, with Guj. *ho-* „to be, become“ 15, with Hindī *ho-* „to become“ 15 etc. To designate these meaning-aspects, 16 separate sections and several more sub-sections were found out and called by special terms, some of which have been coined anew. The terms for the main sections are: 1. Abilitives; 2. Acquisitives; 3. Adverbatives; 4. Causatives; 5. Completives; 6. Compulsives; 7. Continuatives and Progressives; 8. Desideratives and Purposives; 9. Desubstantives and Syntactives; 10. Inceptives; 11. Intensives; 12. Negatives and Prohibitives; 13. Passives; 14. Permissives; 15. Probabilitives; 16. Tentatives (p. 2). The terms of sub-sections are e.g. under No. 204 e) for Hindī auxiliary *ho-* (p. 106): Continuative (Present), Continuative (Past), (Compulsive) Continuatives, Probabilitive Continuatives, Desiderative Continuatives (Subjunctive).

This number of meaning-aspects largely exceeds the number of classes of „verbal compounds“ given in standard grammars: NAVALKAR[2] has (for Marāṭhī) eight classes, TAYLOR[3] (for Gujarātī) eight classes, and in addition, compound verbal phrases, KELLOGG[4] (for Hindī) 13 classes. The number of VALE's sections and sub-sections does not surprise, since he refused to leave apart the compound tenses and had to find out a new name for what is expressed by each compound tense. Another reason is that, applying his vague criterion of „semantic unity“, R. N. VALE could include in his list any combination of verbs where any „semantic unity“ appears. But this very „semantic unity“ proved to be a stumbling-block.

First, let us discuss the question of compound tenses. R. N. VALE asserts (p. 317): „... our general notion that a particular auxiliary is a tense-auxiliary etc. will have to be reconsidered. For instance, all auxiliaries, like *as-*, *thā-, cuk-, jā-* etc., whether tense-auxiliaries or otherwise give completives. In a compound tense there is no compounding of tenses but the compounding of verbs as usual. Indeed, a tense, if it means time, is something like a homogeneous category. The divisions of tense as present, past, future, being themselves arbitrary, their compounding is something strange to imagine. Instead of positing an independent category of the compound tenses it is far better to recognise more inclusive verbal composition as one distinct category of living linguistics.“

Indeed, there is no compounding of tenses (leaving apart cases like Gujarātī *kare che,* see below), but there are composite verbal forms the one member of which is a participle and the other an auxiliary, the whole serving to denote a certain tense. Such a tense is commonly termed compound tense. R. N. VALE himself says about the Marāṭhī auxiliary *as-* (p. 8): „The function of *as-* is that of a tense-auxiliary and in that capacity it combines with almost every root.“ Nearly in the same words he speaks about the Gujarātī auxiliary *ho-* (p. 71) and about the Hindī auxiliary *ho-* (p. 106). But his examples are more eloquent (p. 106): „Continuative (Present): *maĩ ātā hũ* 'I am coming'; Continuative (Past): *maĩ ātā thā* 'I was coming'.“ The difference between these two composite verbal forms is given only by the auxiliary *hũ, thā,* and, in VALE's own words, we have in the first case „Present“, in the second „Past“. The aspect of the action (Continuative) is not expressed by the auxiliary, but by the imperfective participle *ātā.* Mutatis mutandis

[2] G. R. NAVALKAR, The Student's Maraṭhi Grammar, 3rd ed. Bombay 1894, § 301 p. 159.

[3] G. P. TAYLOR, The Student's Gujarātī Grammar, 2nd ed. Bombay 1908, § 80-90 p. 77-85.

[4] S. H. KELLOGG, A Grammar of the Hindī Language, 2nd ed. London 1893, § 427-465 p. 259-279. - Unfortunately, no later edition is available, in this country, at present.

the same is to be said about *maĩ āyā hū̃* and *maĩ āyā thā* (p. 107). These instances clearly contradict to what R. N. VALE asserts on p. 317: „... all auxiliaries, like *as-, thā-, cuk-, jā-* etc., whether tense-auxiliaries or otherwise give completives," and to what he declares on pg: 249: „The word compound is wrongly superimposed upon the tense rendering the term 'compound tense' quite a misnomer."

We may add that there is nothing impossible in the assumption that a single composite verbal form can denote time and aspect of action simultaneously. Examples can be adduced both from Indian and from European languages.

Another reason to take compound tenses as a special category will appear while comparing what is expressed by a compound tense with what is denoted by a participial construction. There is a difference in *meaning* between a participial compound tense (= participle + auxiliary) and a participial construction (= predicatival participle + copula) even if the same words are used in both cases. Let us examine the Hindī sentence *Khāne kī cīz sāmne r a k h ī h a i* (PREM CAND[5]) as compared with the sentence *Usne khāne kī cīz sāmne r a k h ī h a i.* In the first case, the participle *rakhī* functions as predicative, the verb *hai* being a copula; the participle can be replaced by an adjective like *taiyār.* The meaning is, „There is a thing to eat lying (lit. placed) in front." In the second case, the participle *rakhī* functions as a member of a compound tense (perfective present), the verb *hai* is auxiliary; the meaning is, „He has placed a thing to eat in front." Coming back to PREM CAND's story *Śer aur laṛkā,* the tiger thinks: *Khāne kī cīz sāmne rakhī hai aur maĩ do din se bhūkhā baiṭhā hū̃.* - „There is something to eat placed in front (of me) and I am sitting hungry since two days." Certainly, nobody has placed the boy on the tree in front of the tiger: the boy himself climbed on the tree.

The conclusion is: although there is no difference, *in form,* between the participial construction and the compound tense, in Hindī, still, there is a difference *in meaning:* by the participial construction the bare state is expressed, while by the compound tense the state is denoted as the result of the previous action. This difference was noticed by GREAVES:[6] *baiṭhe haĩ* = 1. *baiṭhe hue haĩ* „they are sitting"; 2. „they have seated themselves". As seen from this GREAVES' example, the Hindī speaker may optionally mark this difference by adding *huā, huī, hue* to the perfective participle when a participial construction is in question. Unfortunately, R. N. VALE did not take this difference into consideration in his list of Hindī auxiliaries.

In colloquial Bengali, the present perfective tense (*e.g. baseche,* Hindī *baiṭhā hai*) differs quite clearly from the participal construction (*base āche,* Hindī *baiṭhā hai = baiṭhā huā hai*). To adduce example from VALE's list of Bengali auxiliaries (p. 136), he takes *śuiyā chen* „he was slept, he slept away" as „Completive", *śuiyā āchen* „he is sleeping, he keeps on sleeping" as „Continuative (simple and intensive)".

Marāṭhī and Gujarātī prefer enlarged form of perfect participle when used in a composite predicative construction: *Ārāmkhurcīvar Bāḷ baslelā āhe* (M. MANOHAR[7]) = (in Hindī) *B. ārāmkursī par baiṭhā* (*huā*) *hai.* This Marāṭhī construction is omitted in VALE's list of Marāṭhī auxiliaries, but was noticed by J. BLOCH.[8]

[5] PREM CAND, Jāgal kī kahāniyā̃, 9th ed., Banāras 1948, p. 7.
[6] E. GREAVES, Hindī Grammar, Allahabad 1933, § 311 p. 356.
[7] MĀDHAV MANOHAR, Āī, K. Čapek'kṛt Madar. Bombay (year not indicated), p. 2.
[8] JULES BLOCH, L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes, Paris 1934, p. 279.

Gujarātī: *Ek divas dãpatī gharnī agāsīmã̃ beṭhelã̃ hatã̃* (G. M. TRIPĀṬHĪ[9]) = (in Hindī) *Ek din ghar kī chat par dampatī baiṭhe* (*hue*) *the.* The double form of Gujarātī perfective participle is taken into account in R. N. VALE's list of Gujarātī auxiliaries. On p. 52 we read under the headline *cha-* „to be":

c) Completives (Definite Preterite):
i) *karyũ-,* to have done
ii) *karelũ-,* to have done
d) Intensive Completives:
karyũ hoy-, to have been done, have done already
karelũ hoy-, to have been done, have done off.

This list is quite unsatisfactory. The reader will in vain try to discern the difference in meaning, and in use between *karyũ-* and *karelũ-,* both being placed under the same headline (Completives Definite Preterite) and translated in the same way („to have done"). R. N. VALE's remark, „Evidently there is no great difference of meaning between (i) and (ii)" (p. 52), will leave the reader helpless. No more satisfactory are the examples of „Intensive Completives", *karyũ hoy-, karelũ hoy-.* TAYLOR (*Guj. Gr.*[2] § 145 p. 146) tries to illustrate the difference on examples: *mẽ kām karyũ che* „I have done the work," *mẽ kām karelũ che* „I have done (and finished) the work." That will hardly do. BLOCH's remark (*L'indo-aryen* p. 279) is more instructive: „La valeur adjective se rend de préférence par des dérivés ... Dérivés: g. *karelũ kām* 'l'ouvrage fait' (*kām karyũ* 'l'ouvrage est fait')." BLOCH's remark applies also to the perfective participle used predicatively with a copula. Some examples: *Mũbāīthī lakhelo teno ek kāgaḷ Vidyācatur upar āvyo temã̃ teṇe lakhyũ hatũ ke ...* (G. M. TRIPĀṬHĪ *Sarasvatīcandr,* I, p. 10) „a letter of his, written from Bombay, came to Vidyācatur, therein he had written that ..." *Ā devālay Rājeśvar Mahādevnũ hatũ. Te Suvarṇapurnā amātya* (*kaũsīlar*) *Buddhidhannā pūrvajonũ bãdhāvelũ hatũ* (G. M. TRIPĀṬHĪ, *ibidem* p. 4) „this temple was (that one) of Mahādev, Lord of kings. It was (an edifice) the ancestors of Buddhidhan, councillor of Suvarnapur, had got erected." *Tenī strī catur, suśīl ane bhaṇelī che* (G. M. TRIPĀṬHĪ, *ibidem* p. 11) „his wife is intelligent, well-disciplined and learned."

The difference in construction is noticeable: *teṇe* (agential) *lakhyũ hatũ, pūrvajonũ* (genitive) *bãdhāvelũ hatũ.* By the compound tense (*lakhyũ hatũ*) the state is represented as the result of the action and the verbal meaning of the whole is beyond any doubt. In the participial construction, the participle is levelled to any adjective (*catur, suśīl* and *bhaṇelī*) or even noun (putting e.g. *kām, devālay* etc. instead of *bãdhāvelũ*). The function of such a participial construction is to describe a state, not to put forward an action.

This difference has an important consequence: the perfective tenses, both simple and compound, are conveniently used in *a narrative* as historic tenses, while the participial constructions appear wherever a person, a thing or a scene is to be *described.* This applies both to Gujarātī and to Hindī.

Putting compound tenses along with participial and other constructions among his „verb-compounds", R. N. VALE was not able to treat any of these categories properly. Let us consider the gerundial constructions in Hindī.

[9] G. M. TRIPĀṬHĪ, Sarasvatīcandr, bhāg I, Bombay 1922, p. 12.

Unlike KELLOGG who deals with constructions like *Ham āp se kuch mãgne āe haĩ* „I have come to ask something from you" in the syntax of the infinitive (*Gr.*[2] § 753e p. 442), R. N. VALE, applying his criterion of „semantic unity", sees here „verbal compounds". Thus he has „Purposives" *karne ā-,* to come to do, *khāne ā-,* to come to eat (p. 73), „Inceptive" *pahanne cal-,* to begin to wear (p. 77), „Purposives" *khāne jā-,* to go to eat, *dekhne jā-,* to go to see (p. 82), „Inceptive with an oblique Verbal Noun" *karne baiṭh-,* to begin to do (p. 96).

Had he proceeded consistently, he would have had to add items like *khāne ko ā-* or *jā-, lene ko bhej-* or *lene ke lie bhej-* and even *khāne ko ho-, khāne ko mil-, khāne ko kah-, khāne ko rah-* etc. etc. Some instances of these gerundial constructions will do: *Maĩ to jāne hī ko thā ki itne mẽ āp ā gae* (Bh. HARIŚCANDR[10]). *Maĩ saṛne ko hũ.* (M. L. NEHRŪ.[11]) *Kārindā ne sabko bulāne ke lie ādmī bhejā* (V. Ś. VYĀS[12]). *Use to hamne dahī lene ko bhejā hai* (M. L. NEHRŪ, *Sarasvatī* ākṭobar 1936, p. 355). *Abhī tujhe do rūkh sĩcne ko aur rahe haĩ* (L. SINH[13]).

If *khāne ā-*, „to come to eat" (VALE p. 73) is a „semantic unity", then *khāne ko ā-*, „to come to eat" and *khāne ke lie ā-*, „to come to eat" are also „semantic unities", the meaning being the same. Similarly, we have „semantic unities" in *jāne ko ho-,* „to be about to go"*, saṛne ko ho-,* „to be to rot", *bulāne ke lie bhej-,* „to send for (a person)", *lene ko bhej-,* „to send for"; *sĩcne ko rah-,* „to be left for watering", illustrated in the above examples. The postpositional case *khāne ko, khāne ke lie* etc. obstructs the „semantic unity" just as little as the postpositional case *karne mẽ, kahne mẽ* in constructions like *karne mẽ ā-* „to be done" (VALE p. 73), *kahnā* (!) *mẽ rah-* „to be obedient" (VALE p. 101), *kahne mẽ ho-* „to be obedient" (VALE p. 106).

Another category of VALE's verb-compounds are the constructions of composite predicative the one member of which is the absolutive of the main verb while the other member is another verb helping to denote a special aspect of the action in question. Here, R. N. VALE missed the opportunity of inquiring whether, e.g. in *le jānā* (sometimes written *lejānā*), „to carry away" (p. 81), a composite verbal base and a semantic (lexical) *unit* is to be admitted; then, *lejānā* would be a real compound verb. In Hindī, the form of the absolutive is the same as the form of the verbal base, in this case. In Gujarātī *laī javũ,* „to carry" (VALE p. 55) or in Bengali *laïyā jāoyā,* „to take away" (VALE p. 138; in colloquial Bengali *niye jāoyā*), the forms *laī, laïyā, niye* cannot be mistaken for a verbal base. But even in Hindī both members of such a composite predicative must not be simply put together. T. G. BAILEY[14] says: „In real compounds the second verb loses its usual meaning. When the second verb retains its meaning, we have not a compound verb, but two verbs. This is almost always the case when *jānā* is joined to a trans. verb. *rupeā de gaī,* she gave a rupee and went away. *maĩ dikhā jāũgā,* I will show it and go, show it as I go." This is a practical hint for pupils. One may notice, however, the word *„usual"* in BAILEY's explanation „the second verb loses its usual meaning." We ought to say more precisely that, on account of its usual meaning, the second verb is capable of

[10] BHĀRATENDU HARIŚCANDR, Satyahariścandr, Prayāg 1929, p. 13.

[11] MOHANLĀL NEHRŪ, Śrīmatī kā talāq, *Sarasvatī,* Prayāg navambar 1936, p. 456. Abbrev. M. L. NEHRŪ, *Sarasvatī* 1936.

[12] V. Ś. VYĀS, Aśānt, Laheriyāsarāy, 1984 V., p. 27.

[13] L. SINH, Śakuntalā, ed. Ś. S. DĀS, 10th ed., Prayāg 1931, p. 16.

[14] T. G. BAILEY, Hindustani (Urdū) Grammar, Linguaph. Inst., London 1934 p. 19.

denoting a special aspect of action when in close construction with the absolutive of the main verb. Anyhow, *le gaī* is an absolutival construction just as well as *de gaī* and is properly to be treated in syntax along with other uses of the absolutive.

R. N. VALE has taken gerundial, absolutival, gerundival (e.g. Hindī *ānā paṛ-* „to be required to come" etc. p. 92), participial (e.g. Hindī *ātā rah-* „to be coming" etc. p. 99) and infinitival constructions (e.g. Marāṭhī *karũ āvaḍe* „likes to do" p. 8) and herewith a considerable part of syntax deliberately into the domain of „verb-compound". Indeed, he says (p. 254): „We had already stated that a compound is a syntactical fragment of a sentence. It is, in other words, a particular association of words in a sentence sanctioned by usage. Consequently as a syntactical unit there obtains a relation of principal and subordinate between its immediate constituents, as one governing the other. And this relation is as commonly met with between the members of a nominal compound, as between those of a verbal compound. Thus, taking the principle of the semantic unity as *sine qua non* we can safely call these as genuine verbal compounds. Thus, the theory of MURRAY, KELLOGG and others that these constructions should be explained as cases of syntax is not tenable."

Indeed, in a nominal compound, there can obtain a relation of principal and subordinate between its immediate constituents, as one governing the other. But the fact that such a relation obtains also between the constituents of a syntactical construction is no sufficient reason to conclude that a syntactical construction is a compound, or vice versa. The criterion of „semantic unity" will not do. In *samaduḥkhasukhaḥ* (*Bhagavadgītā* II, 15; XII, 13; XIV, 24) and in *sukhaduḥkheṣu samaḥ* (*Bhg.* XII, 18) the semantic unity is the same („who remains the same in pain and pleasure", *Bhg.* II, 15 ; „who is alike in pleasure and pain", *Bhg.* XII, 18 in the translation of S. RADHAKRISHNAN, *The Bhagavadgītā,* London 1949, p. 105, 298), but, in one case, we have a compound (*samaduḥkhasukhaḥ*) and, in the other case, a syntactical construction (*sukhaduḥkheṣu samaḥ*). Thus, VALE's opinion that „the semantic unity alone is established to be the requisite criterion of composition whether nominal or verbal" (p. 3) is untenable. Grammarians have good reasons to see in syntactical constructions a separate grammatical category different from compounds.

As the nominal syntactical constructions are to be distinguished from the nominal compounds, for the same reasons also the verbal syntactical constructions are to be taken separately from the compound verbs. This applies both to NIA and to OIA syntactical constructions. In VALE's examples of „verbal composition" in Sanskrit like *vaktumarhati* „can speak" (p. 255), *svaranneti* „goes on reciting" (p. 255), *tāmeva na dadau gantuṃ* „did not allow to go" (p. 259) etc. etc. there are no compound verbs, but syntactical constructions, just as in Hindī *jāne denā* „to allow to go" (VALE p. 89), *likhtā jānā* „to go on writing" (p. 83), Gujarātī *karī śakvũ.* „to be able to do" (p. 70) etc. etc.

R. N. VALE enlarged the domain of compound verbs in opposition against *Anubhūtisvarūpācārya's Sārasvata* School and especially against the doctrine of threefold unity (*aikapadyamaikasvaryamekavibhaktikatvaṃ ca samāsaprayojanam,* quoted on p. 239 footnote). But after having refuted the „unity of accent" (p. 239-240) he does not ask if his own „semantic unity" has nothing to do with accent at all. „Il suffit de rappeler", says J. BLOCH, „l'emploi que fait par exemple de 'tomber' le bengali: *se gắche uṭhiyā páṛila, se gắche úṭhiyā paṛila* où suivant la

place de l'accent d'intensité, il y a ou non groupement de façon qu'on obtient deux sens contradictoires: „monté à l'arbre, il est tombé; il est parvenu à grimper à l'arbre" (ANDERSON, *Manual of the beng. lang.,* p. 35, JULES BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen* p. 295). From the point of view of syntax, in the first case, *uṭhiyā* is a loosely employed adverbial participle (in our terminology), i.e. a participle replacing the adverbial subordinate clause „after he had climbed"; the verb *páṛila* is a simple predicative. In the second case, we have not a simple, but a composite predicative of which the participle *úṭhiyā* is one constituent (indicating what action is in question) and the verb *paṛila* is the other constituent (indicating the aspect and time of the action simultaneously). This instance may serve as an illustration why constructions like *uṭhiyā paṛā* are to be treated in syntax: the predicatival function is just one item among various uses in which the participle can function. KELLOGG (*Gr.*[2] § 425 p. 258) had good reasons to remark after having enumerated the varieties of „compound verbs": „Although, for convenience of reference, common usage has been followed in the above heading, it should be observed that, properly speaking, none of these are true compounds, but grammatical combinations of a conjunctive participle, a verbal noun, or a substantive, with a verb. Strictly speaking, therefore, the explanation of these forms belongs to Syntax."

KELLOGG wishes the combination of substantive with a verb to be inserted in syntax. Certainly, the *use* of such complex verbal expressions is a matter of syntax. But the way in which these complex verbal expressions are formed belongs to the domain of formation of words. A complex verbal expression like Hindī *bhojan karnā* „to eat", *naṣṭ karnā* „to destroy", *pīche karnā* „to cast behind" is a semantic (lexical) *unit* which can appear both in simple and in compound tenses (*bhojan karegā, bhojan kartā hai* etc.) as well as in a participial or other construction (*bhojan kiyā kartā hai, bhojan karne jātā hai* etc. etc.). Some of such complex verbal expressions can be replaced by a single word, i.e. by a simple verb, as Gujarātī *kharīd karvũ = kharīdvũ,* „to buy" (MEHTA-MEHTA).[15]

As to the terms „Desubstantives" (VALE) and „Nominals" (KELLOGG, *Gr.*[2] p. 258 and 271; NAVALKAR, *Mar. Gr.*[3] § 292 p. 156), they are inexact, the non-verbal constituent of the complex expression being either a substantive or an adjective or even an adverb (cf. *bhojan kar-, naṣṭ kar-, pīche kar-*). Besides, these terms can be mistaken for denominatives, i.e. for verbs formed from nouns by derivation. TAYLOR (*Guj. Gr*[2] § 90 p. 84-85) is right in choosing the term „compound verbal phrase". R. L. TURNER[16] uses the terms *verbal expressions, verbal phrases* (thus s. v. *garnu:* „Frequently used with substantives to form verbal expressions"; s. v. *dinu:* „With nouns its use is very common to form verbal phrases"). We prefer to say more explicitly with OTTO JESPERSEN[17] *„complex verbal expressions",* meaning herewith complex verbal phrases consisting of a verb and one or more other words which together with the verb form one notion (cf. JESPERSEN's definition in *Anal. Syntax* p. 148 and his examples on p. 35: He takes part in the conversation. F. Il prend part à la conversation etc.). Thus, the verb together with the other word or words forms one *semantic unit* (JESPERSEN, *ibid.* p. 148). Semantic units of this

[15] Bh. N. MEHTA-Bh. Bh. MEHTA, The Modern Gujarati-English Dictionary, Baroda 1925.

[16] R. L. TURNER, A Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language, London 1931, s. v. *garnu, dinu.*

[17] OTTO JESPERSEN, Analytic Syntax, London 1937, p. 148.

kind may be levelled with lexical units though all items of complex verbal expressions are not always found in dictionaries, as the original meaning of the constituents of such complex expressions is usually plain (cf. TURNER, *Nep. Dict.* s. v. *dinu*).

At last, we have to mention Marāṭhī negatives *naghe-, nade-, naye-* etc. (VALE p. 24 ff.). These negatives are real compound verbs, i.e. verbs the bases of which are formed by compounding. But these verbs occur in inflected forms only in old Marāṭhī; what is left of them, today, are auxiliaries or negative particles.

Composite bases are found also in some verbs derived from nouns the bases of which are formed by composition, as in NIA verbs derived from tatsama compound nouns: Hindī *anusārnā* „to follow", *pratipālnā* „to cherish", Marāṭhī *anuśāsaṇẽ* „to regulate", *pradarśaviṇẽ* „to show", Guj. *anubhavvũ* „to experience", *pramāṇvũ* „to prove" etc. This prefixal composition is, however, an OIA, not NIA feature.

From composite nominal bases are derived also Hindī *sarsarānā* „to whistle (like wind)", cf. *sarsar* „a sound made by wind", *cahcahānā* „to warble", cf. *cahcahā* „melody of singing birds" etc. This kind of nominal-composition is living, in NIA, but the verbs derived from such nouns belong to denominatives, not to compound verbs. R. N. VALE does not remember any of these two last types of NIA verbs.

A remark may be added on Hindī verb *lānā* „to bring" about which R. N. VALE observes (p. 190): „The suggestion that H. *lānā* is a contraction of *le-* + *ā-* is to be considered." R. L. TURNER (*Nep. Dict.* s. v. *lānu*) questions if H. *lānā* „to bring" is influenced by *ānā* „to come". Anyhow, the connection with Nep. *lāunu* „to apply", Panjābī *lāuṇā* „to apply", Guj. *lāvvũ* „to bring", Mar. *lāvṇẽ* „to apply", Apabhr. *lāivi,* Pkt. *lāei,* Skt. *lāgayati* stands fast (see TURNER, *Nep. Dict.* s. v. *lāunu*). Hence, a composition in the base of H. *lā-* is doubtful.

Thus, we have to conclude that chief modern NIA languages, Hindī, Bengali, Gujarātī and Marāṭhī, do not favour forming verbal bases by composition. In these languages, the verbal bases are either simple words (be they primary words or derivatives) or complex verbal expressions. Composite verbal forms, on the other hand, and participial, absolutival, and in some languages also gerundial, gerundival and infinitival constructions, are frequent features. We do not see any reason to mix all these different verbal categories on the ground that some sort of verbal composition is found in all of them. We prefer to see a matter concerning formation of words in cases like OIA *praṇamati* or NIA complex verbal expressions and to leave verbal forms (compound tenses) in the conjugational system while the participial and other constructions will be properly treated in syntax along with other uses of participles, absolutives, gerunds, gerundives, and infinitives.

Beside disagreeing with what R. N. VALE takes for verb-compounds we cannot be satisfied with his inconsistent terminology concerning verb-compounds. Above, we have adduced his definition of *„a pure verb-compound"* and of *„full-fledged compounds".* In addition, we have the following terms:

1. *„verbal composition"* (see Title, Preface, p. v-vi ; 1-4, 235, 316, 317);
2. *„verb-compound"* (Preface, p. v-vi; 5, 235, 245, 254, 317);
3. *„composition of verbs"* (p. 1);
4. *„compounding of verbs"* (p. 317);
5. *„composed verbs"* (p. 317);
6. *„verbal compound"* (p. 317);
7. *„compound verbs"* (Preface, p. v);

8. *„prepositional compounds"*, *„participle compounds"* (in OIA, p. 245)

9. *„composite bases"* (Preface, p. v).

The sentence in which this last term, *„composite bases",* occurs, runs (Preface, p. v): „I confined my attention to the Verbal Composition or the composite bases thereof." Does this last term, *„composite bases",* denote verbal bases which are formed by composition? Or does the author mean „composite bases of verbal composition"? Anyhow, VALE's notion of „verbal composition" must be taken in a very vague and loose sense to compass composite bases and prepositional compounds like OIA *praṇamati, paryabhūṣat* etc. (p. 243 ff.) together with „participle compounds" (we say „participial constructions"), absolutival constructions and so on.

In one case, we are not able to see any sort of verbal composition no matter how loose and vague its sense may be. We read on p. 25 (Marāṭhī negatives): „Negative Desiderative *detos nā,* you are giving, are you not? *yetos nā,* you are coming, are you not?" R. N. VALE omitted to adduce instances where *nā* occurs after a negative verb, as in *Tũ tar kuṭhã dūr deśācyā pravāsālā jāṇār nāhĩs nā ?* (M. MANOHAR, Āī, p. 15) „you are not about to go to any distant country, are you?" The same use of the negative particle *nā* appears in Bengali (not mentioned in VALE's list of Bengali „auxiliaries"): *Tār duṭi chele ār tiṇṭi meye chila, nā?* (W. S. PAGE)[18] „he had two sons and three daughters, hadn't he?" *Āmi eta kaṣṭa kare ṭeligirāper tār ṭ̃gālām, ār chĩṛe deoyā hayeche, nā?* (B. BANDOPĀDHYĀY)[19] „I hung up the telegraph wire with such a difficulty, and it has been given to pieces, hasn't it?" Similarly Hindī (and Urdū) *na:* „The negative *na* not, is placed unaccented after a verb to express „isn't it so"; thus *acchā hai na?,* it's good, isn't it?, *botā hai na,* he's sowing, isn't he? *botī thī na,* she was sowing, wasn't she? It may be added to another neg. *burā nahĩ na,* it's not bad, is it? *botī nahĩ thī na,* she was not sowing, was she? (T. G. BAILEY, *Hind.* (*Urdū*) *Gr.*, Linguaph. Inst., p. 11). This use of the Bengali and Hindī negatives is not found in VALE's list (p. 91, 140), and, indeed, it has no place among the verb-compounds; no more has the Marāṭhī *detos nā,* „you are giving, are you not?" either. Incidently, the same use of negative particle obtains in some European languages. The negative particle functions, in such instances, as a predicative, the verb being omitted, or rather as a non-verbal sentence.

The bulk of VALE's dissertation concerns the question of aspect of action. He himself says (p. 316-317): „Continuatives, completives, desideratives etc. are obviously the stages and aspects of action and not of time." It is true that the NIA languages dispose of abundant means for expressing aspect of verbal action.[20] This branch of Indian linguistics deserves to be studied intensively and we are much obliged to R. N. VALE for his contribution to this question.

In NIA languages, the aspect of action is not expressed by forming special compound verbs (i.e. by composite verbal bases, e.g. by prefixes to the verbal base as in Czech) but either 1. by forming special verbal *forms* from verbal bases, or 2. by forming special verbal *constructions* in which the main verb is joined to another verb capable to denote a special aspect of action on account of its own basic meaning.

[18] W. SUTTON PAGE, An Introduction to Colloquial Bengali, Cambridge 1934, p. 50.

[19] BIBHŪTIBHUṢAṆ BANDOPĀDHYĀY, Ām ãṭir bhẽpu, Kalikātā 1351, p. 94.

[20] The idea is obtrusive to compare the NIA languages with the Slav languages, in this respect. GEBAUER-ERTL, Mluvnice česká, Praha 1926, I § 221 p. 118 enumerates 126 derivatives of the Czech base *sed-*. But the ways of forming aspects derivatives differ from those in NIA.

Thus we have: a) Imperfective present form Hindī *caltā hai,* Bengali *caliteche,* Marāṭhī *cālat āhe,* as contrasted with the perfective present form Hindī *calā hai,* Bengali *caliyāche,* Marāṭhī *cāllā āhe.* In this case, the capacity of denoting aspect of action is due to the imperfective or perfective participle of the *main verb.*

b) Gujarātī *kare che* „he is doing", „he does"; *caḍhe che* „he is rising", „he rises" etc.: the capacity of denoting aspect of action is due to the very composition of two finite verbal forms: Cf. J. BLOCH (*L'indo-aryen* p. 291): guz. *cālũ chũ* „je suis que j'aille, je suis à aller, je vais".

c) Absolutival constructions like Hindī *kar cuk-,* Marāṭhī *karūn ṭāk-,* Guj. *karī cūk-,* Bengali *kariyā phel-, kare phel-,* all of which mean „to complete doing, to finish up": the capacity of denoting aspect of action is due to the meaning of *cuk-* „to leave off" (VALE, p. 78), *ṭāk-* „to throw, leave" (VALE p. 19) and of *phel-* „to throw, cast" (VALE p. 142) respectively.

d) Participial constructions like Hindī *kartā rah-, kartā jā-, kartā calā ā-, kiyā kar-, kiye jā-* etc. etc., Guj. *karto jā-, karto ā-, karto rah-, bolyā̃ kar-* etc., Marāṭhī *karat rāh-, karat ye-, karat jā-, cāltā̃ ye-* (VALE p. 36) etc., Bengali *jāgiyā rah-* (in colloquial Bengali *jege ra-*)*, calite thāk-* (*calte thāk-*)*, caliyā thāk-* (*cale thāk-*) etc.: the capacity of denoting aspect of action consists in the combination of the aspect expressed by the participle of the main verb with the meaning of the verb to which the participle is joined. By these constructions, various nuances of verbal aspect can be brought about.

In VALE's dissertation, these ways of expressing verbal aspects are not described systematically: the reader is presented with single „verb-compounds" classified according to their „auxiliaries" under which the aspect expressions are put along with items like „Desubstantives" which have nothing to do with the question of expressing verbal aspect. Anyhow, having in view the enormous work done by collecting materials from so many languages, VALE's book must be welcome as a precious contribution to Indian linguistics and as a base for further studies. The data from Dravidian languages will be useful, too, though it can be taken for certain that the development of Indo-Aryan has gone its own ways without any far reaching influence from outside.

Some minor inconsistencies, oversights, or omissions, will be easily corrected. In the table on p. 5, the termination *-e* is placed among the characteristic marks of Hindī absolutives, but under No. 158c p. 86-87 and No. 195d p. 98 we find the forms *kahe, diye, kiye, roke* (erroneously written *rokhe-*)*, laṛāye,* explained as past participle not declined. Analogous constructions with *rah-* (e.g. *pahne rah-, pakṛe rah-* etc.) and with *le-* (e.g. *uṭhāye le-, utāre le-* etc.) are not enlisted at all.

More confusing is the oversight on p. 74 No. 139a where we read under the headline *kar-* „to do": „Intensive Continuatives with Past Participle declined: *āyā-*, to come often, *āyā-jāyā-,* to frequent etc. etc." This is a mistake. The origin of this use of the participle in *-ā* is disputable (see J. BLOCH, *L'indo-aryen* p. 277-278), but in Hindī, the form of this participle is invariably in *-ā* and is never inflected (see e.g. T. G. BAILEY, *Hind.* (*Urdū*) *Gr.* p. 29).

The examples given for Bengali negative *nāi* (p. 141) are difficult to understand. The first of them runs: *„āte nāi,* does not come". What sort of form is this *„āte"*? Putting instead of it *āse* (coll. *āse ni*)*,* the translation ought to read „he did not come"; taking in view *„āsite nāi"* (coll. *āste nei*)*,* the meaning is „one is not allowed

to come". - The second example reads: *„karite pāri nāi,* not able to do". The translation ought to read: „I was not able to do" (in colloquial Bengali, *karte pāri ni*). - The third example runs: *„nā balate nāī,* must not say nay". The translation is correct, in this case, but the Bengali phrase ought to run: *„nā balite nāi"* or, in colloquial Bengali, *„nā balte nei".*

Some other errata: p. 137 No. 305 Bengali root *āisi-* or *āsi-*, read *āis-, ās-*; p. 138 No. 313 Bg. root *jāo-*, read *jā-* (correctly written *jā-* on p. 188 No. 94); p. 139 line 21 from above *thāhten* read *thākten;* p. 139 line 14 from below *jāiyā > jete,* read *jāiyā > jeye;* p. 139 line 1 from below *hāsite > hoste,* read *hāsite > hāste; p.* 140 No. 136 Bg. root *deo-*, read *de-* (correctly written on p. 180 No. 49); p. 141 No. 320 Bg. root *neo-,* read *ne-* (correctly written on page 182 No. 61); p. 141 No. 322 and p. 173 No. 4 Bg. root *pāo-*, read *pā-*; p. 142 line 6 from above *„paṛate pāra nā,* cannot read" - read either *paṛite* (*paṛte*) *pāre nā,* „he cannot read" or *paṛite* (*paṛte*) *pāra nā,* „you cannot read"; p. 142 No. 326 Bg. root *rak-*or *rav-,* read *rah-* or *ra-*; p. 142 No. 327 Bg. root *lao-,* read *lah-* or *la-*; p. 143 No. 329 and p. 186 No. 85 Bg. root *hao-* read *ha-,* etc. etc.

THE GENITIVE IN HINDĪ

GENITIV V HINDŠTINË

РОДИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ПАДЕЖ В ХИНДИ

Scholars treating the declension in Hindī or in Urdū differ considerably in their terminology. T. Grahame B a i l e y[1] acknowledges three cases: (a) nominative, (b) oblique, postpositional or locative, and (c) vocative. A. H. H a r l e y[2] distinguishes „nominative or simple forms" and „inflected or oblique forms", and does not use any nomenclature for combinations of the oblique forms with postpositions. Academician A. P. B a r a n n i k o v[3] uses the following terms: (a) direct forms (прямые формы) corresponding to the nominative and often also to the accusative in Russian (*HRS,* p. 1162); (b) oblique forms (косвенные формы) used with the value which the genitive and other cases have in Russian (*HRS,* p. 1163). The oblique forms are formed by adding postpositions to the bases of the oblique forms (*HRS,* p. 1163; *Hind.,* p. 31). Besides, (c) Hindī nouns have a special form for the vocative (*HRS,* p. 1166; *Hind.,* p. 37 sq.).

It may be noted that „the base of the oblique forms" as conceived by Acad. Barannikov corresponds to what is termed „the oblique" by T. Grahame Bailey and by A. H. Harley. But the terminology of A. H. Harley and of T. Grahame Bailey is inconsistent. Contrary to what Harley says (*Coll. Hind.,* p. 2), not only the nominative, but also the oblique is a simple form (a simple oblique occurs in phrases such as *un dinõ* «in those days»). And the oblique is not always an inflected form, but may coincide with the direct case in form (e.g. the oblique *din* in the phrase *us din* «on that day»). Harley's words that, with *mard* «man» the postpositions are „added to the simple form in the singular and the oblique in the plural" (*Coll. Hind*., p. 2) may embarrass the student who read some lines before (*Coll. Hind.,* p. 1) that postpositions are added to „inflected forms". In Bailey's book we are told that the oblique „is used with all postpositions" (*TYU,* p. 8), and, at another page (*TYU,* p. 198), we find the term „oblique cases" applied to combinations of the oblique with the postposition *ko,* such as *tum ko* «you» (acc.), etc. The student learns that „nouns have three cases" (*TYU,* p. 1; *HGr,* p. 5), but, subsequently, he finds explanations about the use of „the genitive in *kā*" and that of „the dative in *ko*" (*TYU,* p. 117 sq.; cf. also *HGr,* p. 6).

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[1] *Teach Yourself Urdu* (our abbr. *TYU*) by T. Grahame Bailey, edited by J. R. Firth and A. H. Harley, London, 1956, p. 1. Cf. also T. Grahame Bailey, *Hindustani (Urdu) Grammar* (our abbr. *HGr*), Linguaphone Oriental Language Course, London, (1934), p. 5.

[2] A. H. Harley, *Colloquial Hindustani* (our abbr. *Coll. Hind.*), 3rd impr., London, 1955, p. 2.

[3] Акад. А.П. Баранников, Краткий грамматический очерк хинди„ published in *Хинди-русский словарь* (our abbr. HRS), составил В. М. Бескровный под редакцией акад. А. П. Баранникова, Москва 1953, pp. 1162 sqq. Cf. also А. П. Баранников - П. А. Баранников, *Хиндустани (хинди и урду)* (our abbr. *Hind.*), грамматический очерк 1956, pp. 24-34; 37-42.

The terminology of Acad. Barannikov is slightly modified by T. E. K a t e n i n a[4]: Hindī noun has three cases (три падежа; Acad. Barannikov prefers the term формы, „forms"): (a) the direct case or base-case (прямой, основный падеж), (b) the vocative, and (c) the oblique case (косвенный падеж; *RHS,* p. 1285). In Katenina's opinion the form of the oblique case (форма косвенного падежа) of a noun is not used alone and is not expressive of any relation of a substantive to other words in a sentence, unless the oblique is combined with a postposition (*RHS,* p. 1286). Thus, such forms as *Kalkatte* «to Calcutta» (*vah Kalkatte gayā* «he went to Calcutta») remain unrespected. Anyhow, explaining the form of adverbs such as *savere* «at dawn»; Katenina admits that these adverbs are formed from substantives „in the expressed form of the oblique case".[5]

In fact, adverbs and adverbial expressions such as *savere* «at dawn», us din «on that day», un *dinõ* «in those days», *din din* «every day», «daily», *din rāt* «night and day», «continuously», etc., are the oblique singular, or plural respectively, used adverbially. This use of the oblique case was very frequent in the old language.[6] Subsequently, owing to the need of more accurate means of expression, the use of the oblique without postposition was restricted and that of the oblique with postpositions became prevalent. In the modern Hindī an oblique without postposition may very often be replaced by an oblique with a postposition. This fact, however, does not mean that, when an oblique is used alone, a postposition is to be understood. Grammarians often suggest an „omission of postposition" (K a t e n i n a,[7] G u r u,[8] K e l l o g g,[9] G r e a v e s,[10] T i s d a l l[11]), but the adverbial meaning is conveyed by the oblique itself. On the other hand, the term „oblique" may seem objectionable. This is perhaps the reason why T. Grahame Bailey employs the terms „locative" or „instrumental" for this form when used without postposition (*TYU,* p. 8).

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[4] T. E. Катенина, Краткий очерк грамматики языка хинди published in *Русско-хинди словарь,* (our abbr. *RHS*), под редакцией В. М. Брскровного, Москва, 1957, pp. 1277-1375.

[5] „наречия от имен существительных образованы ... в выраженной форме косвенного падежа." *RHS, p.* 1342. - Cf. also *RHS,* p. 1341, and Barannikov, *Hind., p.* 144.

[6] Cf. e.g. Lakshmi Dhar, *Padumāvatī,* London, 1949, p. 17: „The use of post-positions is very rare in our text. In similar circumstances where postpositions could have been employed in the modern language the noun or pronoun in its base form or in the case form without any postposition expresses the required sense of case relationship. And it is the paucity of case forms and general omission of postpositions which constitute one of the greatest difficulties in translating Padumāvatī."

In the first Caupāī 16 (lines) of *Padumāvatī* published by Lakshmi Dhar there are 12 instances of the oblique case without postposition and only two instances of the oblique with a postposition. The number of 12 may increase to 15, if dubious cases are included.

Cf. also Babu Ram Saksena, Declension of the Noun in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās *The Indian Antiquary,* LII, Bombay, 1923, p. 71: „Postpositions are not generally employed and the simple direct or oblique is used. This creates a certain confusion and difficulty in understanding the meaning."

[7] „Наречия от имен существительных образованы либо без изменения формы существительного (здесь часто подразумевается утраченный в процессе адвербиализации послелог), либо в выраженной форме косвенного падежа." *RHS,* p. 1342.

[8] Kāmtāprasād Guru, *Hindī vyākaraṇ* (our abbr. *HV*), sãśodhit sãskaraṇ, Kāśī, (1953), p. 172.

[9] S. H. Kellogg, *A Grammar of the Hindi Language,* 3rd ed. (our abbr. *HGr*[3]), London, 1938, p. 412 (Ablative), 324 (Locative).

[10] Edwin Greaves, *Hindi Grammar* (our abbr. *HGr*), Allahabad, 1921, pp. 123 sqq. (Locative).

[11] W. St. Clair Tisdall, *A Conversation-Grammar of the Hindūstānī Language* (our abbr. *Hind.*), London - Heidelberg, 1911, p. 57.

Having restricted the number of the case-forms to three, viz. to simple forms, T. Grahame Bailey had to relegate the genitive partly to adjectives, and partly to postpositions. Dealing with adjectives T. Grahame Bailey says (*TYU,* p. 18): „*kā*, of, added to nouns and pronouns, forms an adjective. Being an adjective ending in -*ā*, it agrees with the following noun.“ Reading these lines a student may ask how *kā*, being an adjective, can, simultaneously, be a grammatical means of forming adjectives. Somewhat more explicite explanation is given in the chapter treating postpositions (*TYU,* p. 88 foot-note; cf. also *HGr,* p. 9): „this (viz. *kā*) is both a postposition and an adjective.“ J. B l o c h[12] uses the same terms.

Acad. Barannikov defines the value of the postposition *kā* as follows: *„kā, ke, kī* - an adjectivizing postposition, i.e. a postposition converting a substantive into an adjective - is very often used with the value of the termination of the genitive.“[13] „The basic value of this postposition is to adjectivize the word to which it is related, i.e. to give it the meaning of an adjective. By means of it not only nouns, including infinitives, but also adverbs and whole phrases are adjectivized.“[14] The term „adjectivizing postposition“ implies difficulties. On the one hand, Acad. Barannikov admits that *kā* „is very often used with the value of the termination of the genitive“, on the other hand, he himself emphasizes the fact that a postposition „by no means is a termination; it possesses a certain degree of independence, and, when governing several bases, it is put only once“.[15] It remains unexplained how *kā*, being no termination, can convert a substantive into an adjective.

More difficulties are involved in the term „attributive postposition“ (атрибутивный послелог) used by Katenina (*RHS*, p. 1344): for one thing *kā* itself is no attribute, and for another the genitive in *kā* may be used either attributively (*pīne kā pānī* «drinking water»), or predicatively (*vah vahā̃ jāne kā nahī̃* «he does not intend to go there»).

Grammarians regarding *kā* as a termination cannot evade the objection produced by Acad. Barannikov (see the quotation, fn. 15). This applies both to H. C. S c h o l b e r g[16] specifying *kā, kī, ke* as „the Genitive case endings“, and to W. St. Clair Tisdall (*Hind.,* p. 52) stating: „The word *kā* is really an adjectival termination appended to a noun with the effect of turning it into a declinable adjective.“ Some scholars prefer the term „particle“. In Kellogg's opinion (*HGr*[3]*,* p. 101), „the genitive postposition, *kā*, is, accurately speaking, an adjective particle, equivalent to such English phrases as 'belonging to,' 'pertaining to,' etc.“. O. S p i e s[17] says simply „the genitive particle“ („Genetivpartikel“). The term „particle“ admits of

[12] Jules Bloch, *L'indo-aryen du Véda aux temps modernes* (our abbr. *IAr*), Paris, 1934, p. 183: „La postposition exprimant l'appartenance est donc un adjectif.“

[13] *„kā, ke, kī* - адъективирующий послелог, т. е. послелог, обращающий существительное в прилагательное, весьма часто употребляется в значении окончания родительного падежа.“ *HRS,* p. 1165; cf. also *Hind.*, p. 34.

[14] „Основная функция этого послелога - адъективировать слово, к которому он относится, то есть придавать ему значение прилагательного. При помощи его адъективируются не только имена, в том числе инфинитивы, но и наречия и целые выражения. „ *Hind., p.* 210.

[15] „.... он отнюдь не является окончанием; он обладает известной долей самостоятельности и в случаях, когда он определяет несколько основ, употребляется только один раз.“ *Hind.,* p. 31.

[16] H. C. Scholberg, *Concise Grammar of the Hindi Language,* 3rd ed. (our abbr. *GrH3*), Bombay, 1955, p. 44.

[17] Otto Spies und Ernst Bannerth, *Lehrbuch der Hindūstānī-Sprache* (our abbr. *LH*), Leipzig und Wien, 1945, p. 23, 26.

various applications, but it is not conveniently used to denote a declinable word. Harley (*Coll. Hind.,* p. 4), avoiding nomenclature as far as possible, says only that the postposition *kā* is „the sign of possession like the English *apostrophe s* (*'s*)". We may add the opinion of R. L. T u r n e r[18] who regards the Nepali word *ko*, equivalent to the Hindī word *kā*, as a „genitival affix, declinable as an adjective".

The main cause of difficulties is the fact that the grammatical categories of classical European languages sometimes come short when applied to Hindī. We will point out some aspects of this intricate problem, mentioning the etymology and the probable historic development of the use of *kā*, and paying attention both to the present use of *kā* and to the use of other words of similar character.

kā most probably is what is left from the Sanskrit participle *kṛtaḥ*[19] or **kṛta-ka-* «done» (S. K. C h a t t e r j i,[20] G. A. G r i e r s o n[21]). The locative *kṛte* «on account of» occurred as final member of compounds or was added to a genitive[22]: *matkṛte, mama kṛte* «on my account», «for me».

In Middle Indo-Aryan the genitive *mama* is found in similar combination: *mama kerā-*[23] «belonging to me», «my». From *kerā-* «belonging to» derives the postposition *ker*, an equivalent of *kā*. While *ker* is preserved in Eastern Hindī,[24] *kā* is proper to Western Hindī.

kerā-, keraka- «belonging to» developed from the Sanskrit gerundive (future passive participle) *kāryaḥ* «to be done» (S. K. C h a t t e r j i,[25] G. V. T a g a r e,[26] J. B l o c h,[27] R. P i s c h e l[28]) and was of rather frequent occurrence in Prākrit and Apabhraṃśa.[29] In the *Mṛcchakaṭika*[30] we find e.g. *ajjassa kerao* (IV, 213, p. 143) «belonging to the honourable man»; *tassa kerao* (IV, 230, p. 185) «belonging to him»; *attakeraka-,* or *attaṇakeraka-*(variant reading) «belonging to one's self», «own»; *attakerakaṃ (attaṇakerakaṃ) geham* (II, 304, p. 111) «own house»;

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[18] Ralph Lilley Turner, *A. Comparative and Etymological Dictionary of the Nepali Language* (our abbr. *ND*), London, 1931, s. v. *ko*[2].

[19] R. L. Turner, *ND,* s. v. *ko*[2], questions this derivation. For other opinions see e.g. K. Guru, *HV,* p. 284 sq., or Dhīrendra Varmā *Hindībhāṣā kā itihās,* 4th ed., 1953 sq.

[20] Sunīti Kumār Cāṭurjyā, *Bhāratīya āryabhāṣā aur hindī,* Dillī, 1954, p. 128. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (our abbr. *BL*), Calcutta, 1926, I, p. 164: *kā = kāa*, *kiā < kṛta-ka-*.

[21] Sir George Abraham Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India,* IX; Part I, Calcutta, 1916, p. 616, fn. 2.

[22] Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (our abbr. *SED*), new ed., Oxford, reprinted 1951, s. v. *kritá.* Some more instances are given in J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 160.

[23] Cf. *mama kerae uḍae* «in my hut», *Sacuntala annulo recognita,* fabula scenica Cālidāsi, ed. Carolus Burkhard, Vratislaviae, 1872, I, p. 194, line 17.

[24] Cf. also Guj. *kerũ.* For the use of *kerā-* in Apabhraṃśa see *Paumacariu* of Kavirāja Svayambhūdeva, ed. by Harivallabh C. Bhayani (our abbr. *PC*), Part I, Bombay, 1953, p. 66. - G. V. Tagare, *Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃśa* (our abbr. *Ap*), Poona, 1948, p. 195 says that the use of *kerā, kera* as a genitive postposition is a peculiarity of Apabhraṃśa.-Besides, ef. Bengali suffix *-er,* S. K. Chatterji, *BL,* I, p. 164; II, pp. 753 sqq. - Compare also possessive pronouns in New Indo-Aryan, J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 193.

[25] S. K. Chatterji, *BL,* II, p. 753: *kārya > *kāira > kēra, kēla.*

[26] G, V. Tagare, *Ap,* p. 195.

[27] J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 160.

[28] R. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen* (our abbr. *PrSpr*), Strassburg, 1900, pp. 130, 308.

[29] Cf. R. Pischel, *PrSpr, p.* 130. - H. C. Bhayani, *PC,* p. 66. - G. V. Tagare, *Ap*, p. 196.

[30] The *Mṛichchhakaṭika,* or Toy Cart, A Prakaraṇa by King Śūdraka, ed. by Nārāyaṇa Bālakṛishṇa Goḍabale, Bombay, 1896, pp. 111, 143, 185, 192.

amhakeraka- «belonging to us», «our»; *amhakerakaṃ gehaduāraṃ* (IV, 316, p. 192) «our portal»; etc. Thus, like *kr̥te,* the word *kerā-, keraka-,* too, occurs as final member of compounds (*attakeraka-,* etc.), or is added to a genitive (*tassa kerao,* etc.). But, unlike *kr̥te,* the word *kerā-, keraka-* agrees in gender, case and number with the noun qualified by it. Weakened in its lexical meaning, *kerā, keraka-* became a mere grammatical (auxiliary) word, simultaneously retaining agreement with the noun to be qualified.[31] This type of grammatical words has been largely developed along several lines in New Indo-Aryan. In most cases the group of words, of which the grammatical word is a member (as a rule the final member), is treated like an adjective. But even this function of a grammatical word may be lost, the formal agreement in gender and number being retained. We shall meet this phenomenon when reviewing the uses of the Hindī grammatical word *sā*.

sā[32] is joined to adjectives and other words to express likeness, approximative degree of a quality, similarity of an action, etc. Sometimes, however, it does not convey any particular shade of meaning.[33]

(a) Added to an adjective (both the adjective and *sā* are declined): *kālā sā kapṛā* «a blackish (or: black) cloth»; *kālī sī kitāb* «a blackish (or: black) book».

(b) Added to a genitive (both *kā* and *sā* are declined): *baccõ kī sī bātẽ karte ho* (Y a ś p ā l[34]) «you are talking childishly», lit. «you are talking talks similar to those of children».

(c) Added to an adjectival participle (both the participle and *sā* are declined): *Indrajīt muskarātā huā sā bolā* (Guru Bacansinh[35]) «smiling, as it were, Indrajīt said».

(d) Added to a noun and agreeing in gender and number with the following noun qualified by the group: *ab yah cãd sā betā mil gayā hai* (J a i n e n d r a[36]) «now you have got this moon-like son»; *citr(a) sī strī* (G r e a v e s, *HGr,* p. 153) «a picture-like woman».

(e) Added to a noun and agreeing to it, the group being not related to any noun to be qualified: *ek ved(a)nā sī anubhav huī* (Y a ś p ā l[37]) «he felt something like pain»; *Camelī ko ek dhakkā sā lagā* (Udayśaṅkar B h a ṭ ṭ[38]) «Chamelī, as it were, got a shock».

(f) Added to the oblique case of the personal pronouns of the first and second person (for which the possessive pronoun may be substituted in plural), and to the genitive of tbe pronouns *yah* «this», «he», *vah* «that», «he»: *mujh sā pāpī* (K e l l o g g, *HGr*[3], p. 136) «a sinner like me»; *hã̃, yah tum jaise baccõ ke liye hai,*

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[31] This is to be compared with the use of *taṇā-* in Apabhraṃśa and *taṇũ* «pertaining to» in Guj., see H. C. Bhayani, *PC,* pp. 66 sq.

[32] Specified as „affix" (Kellogg, *HGr*[3], p. 136, § 202a; Scholberg, *GrH,* p. 51); „particle" (Kellogg, *HGr*[3], p. 136, § 202b; „частица" Barannikov, *Hind.* p. 148); „particle-postposition" („частица-послелог", Katenina, *RHS,* p. 1354); „affix or enclitic" (T. Grahame Bailey, *TYU,* p. 267); „adjectival suffix" (Harley, *Coll. Hind.,* p. 78); „termination" (Tisdall, *Hind.,* p. 62 sq.)

[33] „Sometimes... it is practically meaningless", T. Grahame Bailey, *HGr,* p. 32. - „In most cases it is a mere habit of speech... Actually it is never really intensive." T. Grahame Bailey, *TYU,* p. 35.

[34] Yaśpāl, *Pārṭī kāmreḍ,* 2nd ed., Lakhnaū, 1947, p. 78.

[35] Guru Bacansinh, *Rekhāyẽ,* Dillī, 1956, p. 148.

[36] Jainendrakumār, *Jainendrakī śreṣṭh kahāniyã̃,* 3rd ed., Bambaī, 1957, p. 153.

[37] Yaśpāl, *Pārṭī kāmreḍ,* 2nd. ed., Lakhnaū, 1947, p. 74.

[38] Udayśaṅkar Bhaṭṭ, *Lok-parlok, Dharm(a)yug,* Bambaī, 29 jūn 1958, p. 21.

ham se bahādurõ ke liye nahĩ (*Bāl bhār(a)tī*[39]) «oh yes, this is for children like you, not for brave people like us»; *tumhārā sā ādmī* (H a r l e y, *Coll. Hind.,* p. 79) «a man like you».

(g) Added to an adverb and taking the form *se*: *cupke se ṭokrī uṭhākar rotī huī kūẽ kī or calī* (P r e m c a n d[40]) «she took the basket silently and went to the well weeping».

(h) Added to an adverb and retaining the adjectival form: *ve* (i.e. *palkẽ*) *phir khul gayĩ - pahle sī nahĩ, adhkhulī rah gayĩ* (A j ñ e y[41]) «they (viz. the eyelids) opened again - not as before, they remained halfopen».

(i) Added to the oblique case of an infinitive: *mere nīce se dhartī khisakne sī lagī* (A j ñ e y[42]) «the earth, as it were, began to slip away from below me».

(j) Added to a simple absolutive (conjunctive participle, coinciding with the stem in form) in combinations with auxiliary verbs: *merā man bujh sā gayā* (Y a ś - p ā l[43]) «I almost became discouraged»; *(vah) phir apne vicārõ mẽ kho sā gayā* (Guru B a c a n s i n h[44]) «he, as it were, got lost in his thoughts»; *vah mar sī gaī* (T. Grahame B a i l e y, *TYU, p.* 35) «she almost died», «she, as it were, died»; *tum bhī in samācārõ ko paṛh kar ḍar sī jāogī* (V. K a p ū r[45]) «reading this news you also will be somewhat frightened»; *is praśn[(a)] ke uttar ko us ne ṭāl hī sā diyā* (*Viśāl Bhārat*[46]) «he, as it were, avoided answering this question».

(k) Other uses: *ek sā* «alike»; *kaun sā* «which?»; *jaun sā* «whichever»; *koī sā* «any you like».

It is noticeable that, in some instances (under a, b, c, e, g), *sā* agrees with the word to which it is added, and, in other instances, it agrees with the word to which the whole group with *sā* as its final or internal member is related (under d, f, h, i, j, k).[47] This fact suggests that the adjectival form of *sā* is not always expressive of the adjectival use of the group, in which *sā* occurs. See such instances as under (i) and (j), where *sā* is inserted into a construction (*khisakne sī lagī*), or into a complex verbal expression (*kho sā gayā*, etc.) respectively. Taken alone, *khisakne sī*, or *kho*

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[39] *Bāl bhār(a)tī,* Dillī, mārc 1959, p. 32.

[40] Premcand, *Godān,* 13th ed., Banāras, 1956, p. 33.

[41] A j ñ e y, *Kaṛiyẽ aur any[(a)] kahāniyẽ,* Banāras, 1957, p. 154.

[42] A j ñ e y, *Kaṛiyẽ aur any[(a)] kahāniyẽ,* Banāras, 1957, p. 121.

[43] Yaśpāl, *Jñāndān,* 3rd., Lakhnaū, 1946, p. 34.

[44] Guru Bacansinh, *Rekhāyẽ,* Dillī, 1956, p. 62.

[45] Vim(a)lā Kapūr, *Ajāne deśõ mẽ,* Kānpur, 1955, p. 31.

[46] *Viśāl Bhārat* (sampād(a)kīy[(a)] vicār), Kalkattā, mārc 1957, p. 149.

[47] John T. Platts, *A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English,* 4th impression (our abbr. *Dict.*4)*,* London, etc., 1911, has the following separate entries: 1. *sā,* adj. suffix (f. -ī), Like, resembling, as (it is annexed to the accusatival base of adjectives, substantives, and participles, and to the formative or oblique base of the personal pronouns, and forms adjectives;...). 2. *sā*, adv. suffix (f. -ī), Very, intensely, etc. (it is annexed to adjectives, and to the relative, interrogative, and indefinite pronouns; and forms adjectives with an intesified signification...) - Kellogg, *HGr*[3]*,* p. 136 sq. has the same distinction. - Acad. Barannikov (*Hind.,* p. 148) says: „Частица *sā* ставится только после прилагательных и наречий, означающих количество или величину, осложняя их значение понятием «очень, весьма ...» От частицы *sā* нужно отличать ее омоним - частицу *sā*, которая ставится после существительных, прилагательных и числительных для выражения сходства или подобия." - Instances given above do not speak in favour of these opinions. - Besides, we may add Bailey's remark (*TYU,* p. 35): „When it is used with adjectives, it is hard to say what meaning, if any, it has. This explains why it is sometimes said to be intensive, having the sense of „very", and sometimes to have the opposite sense... Actually it is never really intensive."

sā, have no meaning whatever. Both *sī* (*sā*) and the finite verb (*lagī, gayā*) agree in gender and number with the noun in the subject, *dhartī* and *man* respectively.

By the way, contrary to what many grammarians say,[48] *khisakne lagī* and *kho gayā* are no „compound verbs", as they are dissociable by a word such as *sā*, or *hī*, or by both of them (cf. *ṭāl hī sā diyā* in the above example under j).

It is left to add that, as a rule, groups with *sā* are no lexical units, instances under (k) being exceptions.

The idea of resemblance may also be expressed by *sarīkhā* «like», «resembling», *jaisā* «as», «such as», «like», and by *aisā* «such», «of this sort», used as final member of a group.

Sarīkhā is infrequent. It governs the oblique case: *maĩ bhī terī mā̃ hī sarīkhī hū̃* (J a i n e n d r a[49]) «I also am like your mother»; *Bhārat sarīkhe garam deśõ mẽ* (*Hindī śabda-sāgar*[50]) «in warm countries like India»; *us sarīkhe ko mat māno* (K e l l o g g, *HGr*[3], p. 426) «do not mind the like of him».

Jaisā governing the oblique case of nouns: *narak jaisī garmī* (A b b ā s[51]) «heat as in hell»; *hindustānī jūtõ jaise jūte* (Rāhul S ā n k ṛ t y ā y a n[52]) «shoes like Indian ones».

Jaisā governing the oblique or (but infrequently) the genitive in *ke* of pronouns, or the oblique of the possessive pronoun of the first and second person replacing the genitive: *mujh jaise ḍarpok log* (D i n k a r[53]) «timid people like me»; *tum bhī mere jaise ho* (P r e m c a n d[54]) «you also are like me»; *us jaisā abhāgā vyakti* (J a i n e n d r a[55]) «an unfortunate man like him»; *us ke jaisā dūsrā ādmī nahī̃ milegā* (Rāhul S ā n k ṛ t y ā y a n[56]) «another man like him will not be found».

When *aisā* «such», «of this sort» is used as final member of a group, it takes the meaning «like»: *yah āp aise mahātmāõ kā hī kām hai* (H a r i ś c a n d r a[57]) «this is a task of great spirits like you»; *us ke aisā var khojne par bhī Dulārī ke lie nahī̃ milegā* (V. S. V y ā s[58]) «a bridegroom like him will not be found for Dulārī even when seeking for him»; *tumhārī aisī sund(a)rī* (M. N e h r ū[59]) «a beauty like you».

Jaisā and *aisā* are pronominal adjectives. They are used either as adjectives, or as substantives, or as adverbs. Weakening in their meaning they become grammatical words. Then again, *jaise* (the oblique of *jaisā* used adverbially) may introduce an adverbial clause expressing a comparison: *aisā jān paṛā, jaise badan mẽ khūn nahī̃ hai* (P r e m c a n d[60]) «it seemed, as if there were no blood in (my)

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[48] Cf. e.g. Ramchandra Narayan Vale, *Verbal Composition in Indo-Aryan*, Poona, 1948, p. 79 sqq. (*jā*-), 87 sqq. *(de-),* 101 (*lag*-). - T. Grahame Bailey, *TYU,* p. 72 sqq. (*jānā, denā*, etc.). - K. Guru, *HV,* p. 387 sqq. - Acad. Barannikov, сложновербальные глаголы, *HRS,* p. 1194 sqq., *Hind.,* p. 124 sqq.

[49] Jainendrakumār, *Parakh,* 8th ed., Bambaī, 1956, p. 56.

[50] *Hindī śabdasāgar* (our abbr. *HŚS*), ed. Śyāmsundardās, Kāśī, I; 1916; II, 1920; III, 1925; IV, 1928; s. v. *nahānā*.

[51] Khvājā Ahmad Abbās, *Ādhā insān,* Ilāhābād, 1953, p. 33.

[52] Rāhul Sānkṛtyāyan, *Soviyat-bhūmi,* 2nd ed., Ilāhābād, 1949, bhāg I, p. 8.

[53] Rāmdhārīsinh „Dinkar", *Deś-videś,* Paṭnā (year not indicated), p. 44.

[54] Premcand in his letter to Jainendrakumār, published in *Ājkal* (hindī), Dillī, aktūbar 1952, p. 49.

[55] Jainendrakumār, *Parakh,* 8th ed., Bambaī, 1956, p. 82.

[56] Rāhul Sānkṛtyāyan, *Soviyat-bhūmi,* 2nd ed., Ilāhābād, 1949, bhāg I, p. 221.

[57] Bhāratendu Śrīhariścandra, *Satyahariścandra nāṭak,* 8th ed., Prayāg, 1929, p. 15.

[58] Vinod Śaṅkar Vyās, *Aśānt,* Laheriyāsarāy (Bihār), 1984 Vikram., p. 3.

[59] Mohanlāl Nehrū, *Śrīmatī kā talāq,* Sarasvatī, Prayāg, navambar 1936, p. 456.

[60] Premcand, *Jaṅgal kī kahāniyā̃*, 9th ed., Banāras, 1948, p. 32.

body». In this case, though regarded as an adverb by grammarians (cf. Kellogg, *HGr*[3], p. 528), *jaise* is rather a grammatical word (conjunction) introducing a clause. Similarly, *jaise hī* introduces a temporal clause in the following instance: *jaise hī us ne ḍhakkan kholā, us kā hāth jahā̃ thā, vahī̃ ruk gayā* (V. P r a b h ā k a r[61]) «as soon as he opened the cover, his hand stopped just there, where it was». On the other hand, when becoming a grammatical word added to a part of a sentence (nouns, pronouns) *jaisā* retains the form of an adjective. Thus, we can see the development of two types of grammatical words in process.

Another grammatical word retaining the form of a declinable adjective is *vālā*.[62] This word may be added to nouns (including verbal nouns, i.e. infinitives), to some adverbs and postpositions, and even to whole sentences, when an idea of possession, agency, occupation, situation, or connection in general, is to be expressed.

(a) *vālā* added to the oblique of a noun: *paise vālā* «moneyed», «a rich man»; *baṛī baṛī ā̃khõ vālī* (N ā g ā r j u n[63]) «large-eyed (woman)»; *ek safed bālõ vālā ādmī* (Kr̥ṣṇa C a n d r a[64]) «a white-haired man»; *lāl cehrõ vāle bacce* (R ā m k u m ā r[65]) «children with red faces»; *sab se kam umr vālī* (aurat) (Rāhul S ā n k r̥ t y ā y a n[66]) «the youngest (woman)».

(b) *vālā* added to the oblique of an infinitive: *calne vālā* (f.: *calne vālī*) «going», «about to go»; «walker»; *machlī pakaṛne vālõ ke jhuṇḍ* (R ā m k u m ā r[67]) «crowds of people catching fish».

(c) *vālā* added to adverbs (and adverbial expressions), or postpositions (and postpositional constructions): *sāmne vālā* «situated in front»; *bīc vālā* «situated in the middle or between»; *kacahrī roḍ vālā makān* (A ś k[68]) «the house on the Kachahrī (Court-of-Justice) Road»; *nau baje vālī gāṛī se cal dū̃gā* (M. N e h r ū[69]) «I shall set out by the nine o'clock train»; *mandir ke us pār vālī zamīn* (M a n o h a r[70]) «the land beyond the temple»; *us ke sāth vāle kamre mẽ pahũce* (A j ñ e y[71]) «they came into the adjoining room».

(d) *vālā* added to a quoted sentence: *'martā kyā na kartā' vālī kahāvat ke anusār* (D h a r m [(a)] y u g[72]) «according to the saying „What would a dying man not do?"».

(e) *vālā* governing a group of coordinate words: *meve-miṭhāī vāle* (M. N e h r ū[73]) «vendors of fruits and sweetmeats»; *rupaye-paise vālā* (Guru B a c a n s i n h[74]) «moneyed», «a rich man».

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[61] Viṣṇu Prabhākar; *Jīvan-parāg,* 3rd ed., Naī Dillī,1957, p. 27.

[62] Left unspecified by some grammarians (Harley, *Coll. Hind.,* p. 43; Spies-Bannerth, *LH,* p. 32), termed as „suffix" by others (Kellogg, *HGrg*[3], p. 227; Greaves, *HGr,* p. 258; Barannikov, *HRS*, p. 1180, 1216; *Hind.,* p. 72, 195; Katenina, *RHS,* p. 1294, 1318; Turner, *ND,* s. v. *-wāl, -wālā*). - T. Grahame Bailey, leaving *vālā* unspecified in *HGr,* p. 16, says, in *TYU,* p. 94: „It is used as a suffix to nouns..."

[63] Nāgārjun, *Balcanmā,* Ilāhābād, 1952, p. 28.

[64] Kr̥ṣṇa Candra, *Mere dost kā beṭā,* Nayī Dillī (year not indicated), p. 54.

[65] Rāmkumār, *Fūcik ke deś mẽ,* Nayā sāhitya, III, 1, Ilāhābād, jūn 1951, p. 81.

[66] Rāhul Sānkr̥tyāyan, *Soviyat-bhūmi,* 2nd ed., Ilāhābād, 1949, bhāg I, p. 30.

[67] Rāmkumār, *Fūcik ke deś mẽ,* Nayā sāhitya, III, 1, Ilāhābād, jūn 1951, p. 81.

[68] Upendr[(a)]nāth Aśk, *Alag-alag rāste,* Ilāhābād, 1954, p. 28.

[69] Mohanlāl Nehrū, *,Śrīmatī kā talāq,* Sarasvatī, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 352.

[70] Manohar, *Gā̃v kī sair,* Bāl bhāratī, Dillī, aprail 1954, p. 26.

[71] Ajñyey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any[(a)] kahāniyā̃,* Banāras, 1957, p. 156.

[72] Jo. Ba., *Kyā Frā̃s itihās se badlā le rahā hai?,* Dharm[(a)]yug, Bambaī, 15 jūn, 1958, p. 7.

[73] Mohanlāl Nehrū, *Śrīmatī kā talāq,* Sarasvatī, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 350.

[74] Guru Bacansinh, *Rekhāyẽ,* Dillī, 1956, p. 206.

(f) *vālā* separated by the particle *hī* from the word it governs: *khel śurū hone hī vālā thā* (A b b ā s[75]) «the play was about to begin»; *gāṛī chūṭne hī vālī hai* (M. G u p t[76]) «the train is about to start»; *ab saberā hone hī vālā hai* (A j ñ e y[77]) «now dawn is about to set in».

In the instance under (d), (e), (f) *vālā* is no suffix: (a) it is added to a whole sentence (consequently, it follows a finite verb); (b) it governs a group of coordinate words (here, Acad. Barannikov's words concerning postpositions apply[78]); (c) it may be separated from the word it governs.

vālā acquired this relative independence and capacity of forming groups with words and expressions of various grammatical character at the cost of its original lexical meaning and of its substantival, or adjectival, force. The Sanskrit words *pālaḥ*[79] (substantive) and *pālakaḥ* (used either as an adjective, or as a substantive[80]) «guarding»; «guardian», «keeper» occurring as final member of compounds[81] have been worn down to *-vāl*[82] and *vālā* respectively, in similar way as *kr̥taḥ, *kr̥ta-ka-* decayed to *kā.*

The question may arise whether or not this development may be paralleled with that of such auxiliaries which are incapable of inflexion. Leaving apart case-postpositions (as all the case-postpositions, including *kā*, are on the same line as regards their government and their relative independence) we shall try to follow some remoter tracks of parrallelism.

There is a dissension among grammarians in describing the character and employment of the word *bhar* «full», «all», «as much as».

Katenina says: „According to the meaning of the noun, to the context, the particle (scil. *bhar*) emphasizes irrelevancy («only», «mere»), or, to the contrary, excessiveness («whole», «all») ... In other cases, stressing nothing, the particle shows that a full unit of weight, volume, etc., is meant."[83]

Kellogg (*HGr*[3]*,* p. 428), regarding *bhar* as an „adjective affix", explains: „The adjective *bhar,* 'full', is never used by itself; but partakes rather of the character of an affix, like the English 'full', in such phrases as a 'spoonful', a 'house-full', etc."

According to Guru (*HV,* p. 209), who deals with *bhar* in the chapter of adverbs (*kriyā-viśeṣaṇ*), a noun has to take the form of the oblique case *(vikr̥t rūp)* when followed by *bhar.* But, at another page of his grammar (*HV*; p. 189), Guru himself adduces instances such as *mere pās kapṛā bhar hai* «I have only cloth»; *utnā bhar maĩ use phir deũgā* «I will give him back just as much» (scil. «as much as he gave me», see the same instance in Kellogg, *HGr*[3]*,* p. 428). Kellogg (*HGr*[3]*,* p. 428 Rem.)

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[75] Khvājā Ahmad Abbās, *Avadh kī śām,* 2nd ed., Prayāg, 1956, p. 126.

[76] Manmathnāth Gupt, *Punarjanm*$^{(a)}$*,* Bāl bhāratī, Dillī, navambar 1952, p. 4.

[77] Ajñey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any*$^{(a)}$ *kahāniyā̃,* Banāras, 1957, p. 89.

[78] Acad. A. P. Barrannikov, *Hind.,* p. 31 (quoted above, see fn. 15).

[79] S. K. Chatterji, *BL,* II, § 417, p. 670 sq.: *-pāla > wāla.* - J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 164: *-pāla-.* - R. L. Turner, *ND,* s. v. *-wālā:... < -pāla-.*

[80] Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *SED,* s. v. *pālaka.*

[81] Cf. e.g. *dvārapāla-, dvārapālaka-* «door-keeper». Monier-Williams, *SED.*

[82] Cf. e.g. *kotvāl* «chief of police».

[83] „В зависимости от значения существительного, от контекста частица подчеркивает незначительность («только», «один» или, наоборот, чрезмерность («целый», «весь») ... В других случаях, ничего не подчеркивая, частица указывает, что реч идет об одной полной единице веса, объема и т. п." *RHS*, p. 1354.

admits that, where the noun or adjective with *bhar* is not inflected, *bhar* may be more correctly regarded as the conjunctive participle of *bharnā* «to fill».

In a few compounds *bhar* occurs as prior member: *bharpūr* «quite full», «fully», cf. *bharā pūrā* «quite full», «wealthy»; *bhardauṛ*[84] «at full gallop». In these instances *bhar* is an adjective meaning «full».

bharpeṭ «bellyful» alternates with *peṭ bhar* «bellyful».

bhar is often added to nouns denoting time, distance, weight, amount, etc.: *din bhar* «all day»; *din bhar kī yātrā* (P r e m c a n d[85]) «whole day's travel»; *rāt bhar* «all night»; *ksaṇ bhar kuch socā* (V. P r a b h ā k a r[86]) «he thought about something for a while»; *janm(a) bhar ke vāste* (M. N e h r ū[87]) «for the whole life»; *dvīp bhar mẽ* (J. P r a s ā d[88]) «all over the island»; *duniyā bhar ke log* (R. S i n h[89]) «people of the whole world»,; *ser bhar* «a whole ser», or «as little as a ser» (T. Grahame B a i l e y, *TYU,* p. 235); *ṭokrī bhar dhān* (N ā g ā r j u n[90]) «a basket of rice».

bhar added to a noun (verbal noun included) in the direct case: *mahīnā bhar yahī hāl rahā* (C. S. G u l e r ī[91]) «this (situation) lasted for a whole month»; *vah to k̲hūn cūsnā bhar jānte haĩ* (P r e m c a n d[92]) «they know only how to suck blood». Similarly: *utnā bhar* «just as much» (K e l l o g g, *HGr*[3]*,* p. 428; G u r u, *HV*, p. 189).

bhar added to a noun (verbal noun included) in the oblique case[93]: *mahīne bhar ke bhītar* (*HŚS* s. v. *bhītar*) «within a whole month», or «within a month only»; *khāne bhar ko bhī nahĩ bactā* (P r e m c a n d[94]) «even as little (corn) as needed for living is not saved»; *ghaṇṭe bhar mẽ calā āū̃gā* (A j ñ e y[95]) «I shall come in an hour only».

Thus, the noun (or verbal noun) takes the form demanded by the syntactical construction of the sentence.

The absolutive (conjunctive participle) *bhar kar* «having filled» occurs in phrases such as *jī bhar kar khānā* (V. R. Ṛ ṣ i[96]) «to eat to one's fill». Comparing this phrase with *peṭ bhar khā kar so rahẽge* (C. S. G u l e r ī[97]) «having eaten their fill they will go to sleep», we have to conclude that, in *peṭ bhar*, the word *bhar* is an absolutive.

This conclusion is strengthened by such instances as *jarama bhari* (variant reading: *janama bhari*; with inverted word-order: *bhari janama*) «for a life-time», occurring in old literature: *pãvari hõuṃ jarama bhari cērī* (M. M. J ā y a s ī) « I will serve him like a pair of shoes and (will remain his) servant all my life» (L. D h a r[98]); *hama*

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[84] Lakṣmaṇ Sinh, *Śakuntalā*, ed. by Śyāmsundardās, 10th ed., Prayāg, 1931, p. 2.

[85] Premcand, *Godān,* 13th ed., Banāras, 1956, p. 34.

[86] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, *Jīvan-parāg*, 3rd ed., Naī Dillī, 1957, p. 32.

[87] Mohanlāl Nehrū, *Śrīmatī kā talāq,* Sarasvatī, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 350.

[88] Jayśaṅkar 'Prasād', *Kām(a)nā*, Laheriyāsarāy (Bihār), 1984 Vikram., p. 3.

[89] Rāmpāl Sinh, *Ek ghaṇṭe mẽ,* Bāl bhāratī*,* Dillī, maī 1955, p. 26.

[90] Nāgārjun, *Balcanmā,* Ilāhābād, 1952, p. 23.

[91] Candradhar Śarmā Gulerī, *Us ne kahā thā, Hindī kī ādarś kahāniyā̃*, ed. by Premcand, 7th ed., Banāras, 1950, p. 29.

[92] Premcand, *Godān,* 13th ed., Banāras, 1956, p. 10.

[93] Uncommon with nouns in plural, cf. Guru; *HV,* p. 209.

[94] Premcand, *Godān,* 13th ed., Banāras, 1956, p. 29.

[95] Ajñey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any(a) kahāniyā̃*, Banāras, 1957, p. 66.

[96] Vīr Rājendra Ṛṣi, *Rūsī-hindī śabdakoś,* Nayī Dillī, 1957, s. v. досыта.

[97] Candradhar Śarmā Gulerī, *Us ne kahā thā, Hindī kī ādarś kahāniyā̃*, ed. by Premcand, 7th ed., Banāras, 1950, p. 29.

[98] Lakṣhmī Dhar, *Padumāvatī,* London, 1949, p. 125 (caupāī 93, 5), 193.

bhari janma sunahu saba bhāī dekhī nahi asi suṃdaratāī (T u l s ī[99]) «in the whole of my life - mark me my brethren all - I have never seen such beauty» (F. S. G r o w s e[100]).

In Nepali the absolutive *bhari* (of *bharnu* «to fill») is used in such phrases as *din bhari* (T u r n e r, *ND,* s. v. *bhari*) «the whole day», equivalent to Hindī *din bhar*.

Several absolutives have been worn down in similar way: *ho kar, ho ke* «viâ», «through», *choṛ kar* «besides», *mil kar* «together», «with», *baṛh kar* «superior to», etc. The absolutive *kar*, or its compound form *kar ke,* are used to form „compound absolutives“: *dekh kar* «having seen», *likh kar* «having written», etc. We have even *viśeṣ kar, viśeṣ kar ke,* and *k̲hās kar, k̲hās kar ke* «particularly». Anyhow, with a group of absolutives, *kar* is put only once: *dekh dekh kar* «having looked (repeatedly)», *soc samajh kar* «after well considering», *jān būjh kar* «knowingly», etc. Thus, in the „compound absolutives“, *kar* is a dissociable element. For practical purposes we retain the term „compound absolutives“ bearing in mind that no compounds proper are in question.

Some participles have been weakened to mere auxiliaires, too. The perfect participle *liyā* «taken» (of *lenā* «to take»), in its oblique form *liye*[101] became a postposition meaning «for», «for the sake of»: *kis ke liye* «for whom?»; *kis liye* «why?». But it retains its verbal force in *hāth mẽ bẽt liye* (P r e m c a n d[102], «with a cane in his hand», to be compared with *mujhe lekar Lakhnaū cale calo* (P r e m c a n d[103]) «go away to Lucknow with me», lit. «having taken me».

The participle *hotā huā* is half way to become a postposition in *galiyõ mẽ se hotā huā bhaṭak āyā thā* (A j ñ e y[104]) «he had come after having wandered through the lanes», compare with *vah Kalkattā hotā huā Jāpān calā gayā thā* (A b b ā s[105]) «he had gone to Japan viâ Calcutta»; *inhẽ bhī letī ānā* (M. N e h r ū[106]) «come along with him»; compare also *mujhe lekar Lakhnaū cale calo* in the above quotation.

This modern development repeats, on a new line, the old process of wearing down the participle *kṛtaḥ, *kṛta-ka-* to *kā*, and, let us add, *gata-* «gone» to *gā*.[107] It is no insignificant occurrence that the future tense, e.g. *karū̃gā,* is dissociable into *karū̃* (subjunctive) and *gā* (< Sanskrit *gata-*[108]): *in se bāt karū̃ hī gā* (L a k ṣ m a ṇ S i n h[109]) «I will certainly speak to them»; *aisā to ho hī gā* (= *hogā hī*) «it will certainly be so» (T. Grahame Bailey, *TYU*, p. 125). Here once more we see the persistency of a grammatical word in retaining its adjectival form and, in a certain measure at least, its independence.

Hence, the case of *kā* is no isolated phenomenon. It is left to review its employment with regard to some relevant aspects.

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[99] M. S. Śambhunārāyaṇ Caube, *Rāmcaritmānas*, Kāśī, 2005 Vikram., p. 339.

[100] F. S. Growse, *The Rāmāyaṇa of Tulsī Dās*, 6th ed., Allahabad, 1922, p. 388.

[101] J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 277, dealing with „participe aux cas obliques“ says: „De là les outils grammaticaux comme *liye* «ayant pris, pour»“.

[102] Premcand, *Karm(a)bhūmi,* 7th ed., Banāras, 1948, p. 28.

[103] Premcand, *Karm(a)bhūmi,* 7th ed., Banāras, 1948, p. 18.

[104] Ajñey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any(a) kahāniyā̃,* Banāras, 1957, p. 89.

[105] K̲hvājā Ahmad Abbās, *Avadh kī śām,* 2nd ed., Prayāg, 1956, p. 23.

[106] Mohanlāl Nehrū, *Śrīmatī kā talāq,* Sarasvatī, Prayāg, ākṭobar 1936, p. 352.

[107] J. Bloch, *IAr,* p. 290.

[108] J Bloch, *IAr,* p. 290: „Le second élémént est nettement nominal et indépendant; l'hindi les sépare à l'occasion: *ho hī gā* «il sera vraiment».“

[109] Lakṣmaṇ Sinh, *Śakuntalā,* ed. by Śyāmsundardās, 10th ed., Prayāg, 1931, p. 12.

(a) *kā* governing a group of coordinate words: *gāne bajāne kā kāry(a)kram* (R a m e ś[110]) «the program of song and music»; *nīce bād(a)lõ aur sāgar ke raṅgõ ko (ham) bhalī bhā̃ti dekh sakte haĩ* (K. M a l l i k[111]) «we can perfectly see the colours of clouds and of the sea below». Compare the use of *vālā* in expressions such as *rupaye paise vālā* (see above).

(b) *kā* added to a multiple apposition: *prāṇij dravy(a) - paśuõ se utpann khurāk jaise dūdh, makkhan, panīr, dahī, mā̃s, aṇḍe - kā adhik mātrā mẽ sevan karnā cāhie* (A. K. V i d y ā l a ṅ k ā r[112]) «one should in greater measure make use of animal substances - of food produced of animals, such as milk, butter, cheese, curds, meat, (and) eggs».

(c) When the group consists of two or more coordinate members in plural, only the final member takes the form of the oblique plural, the prior member being in the oblique singular: *laṛke aur laṛkiyõ ke jhuṇḍ* «crowds of boys and girls»; *phoṛe phũsiyõ kī tarah* (V. P r a b h ā k a r[113]) «like ulcers and pimples»; *sab choṭe aur baṛõ ke jī mẽ* (G r e a v e s, *HGr,* p. 139) «in the minds of both great and small».

The same applies to other postpositions as well: *qisse kahāniyõ mẽ* (A j ñ e y[114]) «in tales and stories», etc.

Some Hindī writers put all members in the oblique plural: *śūdrõ cāṇḍālõ kī bhā̃ti* (Bh. S. U p ā d h y ā y[115]) «like the Shūdras and Chāṇḍāls», i.e. like people of the most degraded tribes.

(d) *kā* repeated for syntactical or stylistic reasons: *is ke mahīne bhar ke bād kī hī bāt hai* (J a i n e n d r a[116]) «it is a matter of the whole month after this» (*is ke bād; mahīne bhar ke bād*); *us ke sir ke, dāṛhī ke aur mūchõ ke bāl safed ho cuke the* (S u d a r ś a n[117]) «hair of his head, beard, and whiskers was already white».

(e) *kā* added to adverbs: *āj kā* «today's», *yahā̃ kā* «of this place». Compare the use of other case-postpositions: *āj ko* «today», *āj se* «from today»; etc.

(f) *kā* added to a postpositional construction, or to a complex expression in general: *saṛak par kī ākhirī gāṛiyā̃* (A m ṛ t r ā y[118]) «the last (tram-)cars in the street»; *jahāz par ke yātrī* (G u r u, *HV,* p. 287) «passengers embarked on a ship»; *ek rupaye se lekar hazār rupaye tak ke noṭ hote haĩ* (J. J a i n[119]) «there are bank-notes from one to one thousand rupees»; *din bhar kī yātrā* (P r e m c a n d) «whole day's travel» (see above under *bhar,* and fn. 85); *„O qulī idhar āo" kī āvāzẽ sunāī paṛne lagī̃* (Ś r ī n ā t h-s i n h[120]) «voices (of passengers calling:) „Coolie, come here!" began to be heard». Compare: *dvīp bhar mẽ* (J. P r a s ā d) «all over the island» (see above under *bhar,* and fn. 88); *un mẽ se ek* «one of them»; *„sahaj pake so mīthā ho!" mẽ hamārā viśvās hai* (U. A ś k[121]) «we believe in (the saying) „What ripens slowly grows sweet"». Besides, compare the use of *vālā* (see *vālā* c, d, above).

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[110] Rameś, *Nizāmuddīn samāj-sevā śivir,* Bāl bhār(a)tī, Dillī, agast 1953, p. 14.
[111] Kapilā Mallik, *Samudra pār se,* Ājkal (hindī), Dillī, 15 mārc 1949, p. 23.
[112] Avanīndra Kumār Vidyālaṅkār, *Proṭīn,* Bāl bhār(a)tī, Dillī, navambar 1951, p. 23.
[113] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, *Jīvan-parāg,* 3rd ed., Naī Dillī, 1957, p. 34.
[114] Ajñey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any(a) kahāniyā̃,* Banāras, 1957, p. 101.
[115] Bhagavatśaraṇ Upādhyāy, *Khūn ke chīṇṭe itihās ke pattõ par,* Banāras, (year not indicated), p. 15.
[116] Jainendrakumār, *Jainendrakī śreṣṭh kahāniyā̃,* 3rd ed., Bambaī, 1957, p. 81.
[117] Sudarśan, *Sudarśan-suman*, Dillī, (year not indicated), p. 85.
[118] Jūliyas Fūcik, *Phā̃sī ke takhte se,* anuvādak Amṛtrāy, Banāras, (year not indicated), p. 8.
[119] Jagadīścandra Jain, *Naī hindustānī*, tīsrī kitāb, Bambaī - Kalkattā - Madrās, 1947, p. 40.
[120] Śrīnāthsinh., *Uljhan,* Prayāg, 1934, p. 147.
[121] Upendranāth Aśk, *Alag-alag rāste,* Ilāhābād, 1954, p. 26.

(g) *kā* separated by the particle *hī*: *ghar hī kā*[122] «of the house».

(h) Exceptionally, *kā* forms lexical units: *is rā̃ḍ ke ko bakne dījie* (Lakṣmaṇ S i n h[123]) «let this blockhead talk nonsense»; *yah kām kisī ghar ke ne kiyā hai* (G u r u, *HV*, p. 287) «some member of the family has done this». In this last instance, *kā* may interchange with *vālā: ghar kā*, or *ghar vālā* (G u r u, *HV*, p. 288) «of or belonging to the house or family».

Reviewing main points we may conclude: Grammatical words admit of a loose employment incommensurable with that of mere suffixes (see *sā* i, j; *vālā* d, e, f; *kā* a, b, c, d, f, g).[124] They often partake of the character of two or more grammatical categories simultaneously. Adjectival form of a grammatical word is not always expressive of the adjectival use of the construction or expression to which the grammatical word belongs (see under *sā* i, j).

By combining with a grammatical word a noun, including verbal noun, does not loose its own force of government, if possessed of (with *sā*, or *bhar,* it retains even the form demanded by the syntactical construction of the sentence). Two more instances concerning *kā*: *man bahlāne kī bāt* (Lakṣmaṇ S i n h[125]) «a thing for diverting the heart»; *dūsre din kī bāt hai* «it is a matter of another (or: of the next) day». Here *bahlāne kī* and *din kī* are used as adjectives agreeing with *bāt,* but *bahlāne* remains a verbal noun governing the accusative of the noun in the object *(man),* and *din* remains a noun in the oblique case qualified by the oblique *dūsre* in the same manner as in *dūsre din* «on the next day». The function of *kī* (governing the oblique *bahlāne* and *din*) consists in conveying the idea of «belonging to», and bringing about the formal agreement with *bāt*.

It is a matter of convention what term the constructions with *kā* are given, provided that all aspects are taken into account: (1) the idea of «belonging to» (in a broad, or narrow, sense) expressed by the grammatical word *kā*; (2) *kā* (in line with other case-postpositions) governing the oblique, with varieties as given above under *kā* a, c; (3) constructions used adjectivally, agreement being expressed by *kā*; (4) noun, including verbal noun, construed with *kā*, retaining its own force of government, if possessed of; (5) words of various word-classes, postpositional constructions, and even phrases, construed with *kā*; (6) *kā* put only once when governing several coordinate words, or, in certain cases, repeated (see *kā* a, b, c, d); (7) *hī*, if needed, inserted before *kā*; (8) construction taking the function of the lost genitive, whenever *kā* is added to a noun, substantivized adjective, or pronoun. In this function the construction with *kā* occurs most frequently.

Abiding by the traditional nomenclature we have to explain the Hindī genitive as a postpositional construction used adjectivally. Thus we cope both with the character and with the wide range of employment of this substitute for the genitive proper, connecting it simultaneously, as regards function, with the lost inflected form.

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[122] Cf. K. Guru, *HV*, p. 229.

[123] Lakṣmaṇ Sinh, *Śakuntalā,* ed. by Śyāmsundardās, 10th ed., Prayāg, 1931, p. 24.

[124] Some Hindī authors write postpositions, and *vālā, kar, bhar, sā,* as separate words (using hyphen with *sā*), cf. Ajñey, *Kaṛiyā̃ aur any(a) kahāniyā̃*, Banāras, 1957, passim. - This practice is well-founded. Guru's objection (*HV*, p. 449) that members of compounds are not written as separate words does not obtain, as the groups in question („compound absolutives") are no compounds proper. As regards postpositions, Guru (*HV*, passim), affixes them to pronouns, but writes them as separate words with nouns, submitting to the prevalent usage in view of lack of decisive literary authorities (cf. *HV,* p. 300).

[125] Lakṣmaṇ Sinh, *Śakuntalā,* ed. by Śyāmsundardās, 10th ed., Prayāg, 1931, p.24.

GENITIV V HINDŠTINĚ

Souhrn

V hindštině se různými prostými tvary vyjadřují tři pády: pád přímý, pád nepřímý a vokativ. Prostý nepřímý pád substantiv se vyskytuje hlavně v platnosti adverbiální. Vazbou nepřímého pádu se záložkami nahrazují se ty nepřímé pády, které se do hindštiny nedochovaly. Genitiv se nahrazuje vazbou nepřímého pádu se záložkou *kā*. Tato záložka se skloňuje jako přídavné jméno a vazba nepřímého pádu s *kā* má ve větě platnost jako přídavné jméno. Po některých stránkách shoduje se tato záložková vazba se spojením substantiva nebo infinitivu s *vālā*. Také jiná gramatická slova, sklonná i nesklonná, vyskytují se ve spojeních podobného typu; gramatická slova se nestávají pouhými příponami a slova, s nimiž se gramatická slova pojí, podržují schopnost řídit členy závislé.

Při volbě pojmenování pro vazbu s *kā* nutno mít na zřeteli všechny charakteristické stránky této konstrukce: 1. *kā* je gramatické slovo vyjadřující příslušnost v širším nebo užším smyslu; 2. *kā* (stejně jako ostatní pádové záložky) řídí nepřímý pád jednoho slova (*laṛke kā* ‚hocha') nebo více slov (*laṛke aur laṛkiyõ kā* ‚hochů a dívek'); 3. vazba s *kā* má ve větě platnost jako přídavné jméno, shoda se vyjadřuje příslušným tvarem záložky *kā*; 4. slovo, s kterým se záložka *kā* pojí, podržuje svou schopnost řídit závislé členy; 5. záložka *kā* se může pojit se slovy různých slovních druhů, ba i se záložkovými vazbami, složitými výrazy a větami; 6. řídí-li *kā* několikanásobný větný člen, klade se buď jednou, nebo se opakuje; 7. *kā* může být odděleno od slova, které řídí, důrazovou částicí *hī*; 8. řídí-li zálozka *kā* substantivum, zpodstatnělé adjektivum nebo zájmeno, má tato vazba platnost genitivu. V této platnosti vyskytuje se vazba s *kā* nejčastěji.

Se zřením k této platnosti lze setrvat při tradičním pojmenování „genitiv" s upozorněním, ze běží o záložkovou vazbu mající syntaktickou platnost jako jméno přídavné a nahrazující genitiv ve vlastním smyslu.

РОДИТЕЛЬНЫЙ ПАДЕЖ В ХИНДИ

Резюме

В хинди выступают склоняемые слова или в простых формах, или в конструкциях с послелогами. Простые формы - прямой падеж, косвенный падеж и звательный падеж. Потерянные старые косвенные падежи заменены конструкциями косвенного падежа с послелогами. Родительный падеж заменен конструкцией косвенного падежа с послелогом *kā*. Этот послелог склоняется по образцу прилагательного и конструкция с *kā* употребляется в качестве прилагательного. В некоторых отношениях конструкция с *kā* сходна с сочетанием существительного или инфинитива с *vālā*. Но и сочетания с другими грамматическими словами, склоняемыми и не склоняемыми, показывают в известной мере подобную проблематику.

Что касается терминологии употребляемой для конструкции с *kā*, какой термин мы ни предпочитаем, мы всегда должны иметь в виду, что 1. *kā* - грамматическое слово обозначающее принадлежность в широком или тесном смысле слова; 2. *kā* (так же как и другие простые послелоги) управляет косвенным падежем одного слова (*laṛke kā* «мальчика») или несколько слов (*laṛke aur laṛkiyõ kā* «мальчиков и девушек»); 3. конструкция с *kā* употребляется в качестве прилагательного, при чем согласование выражается соответствующей формой послелога *kā*; 4. тип подчинительной связи между словами не нарушается, если они входят в конструкцию с *kā*; 5. в конструкции с *kā* появляются разные части речи, послеложные конструкции, или же целые сложные выражения; 6. управляя несколькими словами, которые в сочинительной связи, *kā* ставится только один раз, а иногда повторяется; 7. эмфатическая частица *hī* может ставиться перед *kā*; 8. когда в конструкцию с *kā* входит какое-нибудь имя или местоимение, то эта конструкция имеет функцию потерянного в хинди родительного падежа. Чаще всего выступает конструкция с *kā* в этой функции.

В виду этой функции возможно сохранять традиционный термин „родительный падеж" - но нужно учитывать, что речь идет о послеложной конструкции, употребляемой в качестве прилагательного и заменяющей родительный падеж в собственном смысле слова.

DEICTIC DEMONSTRATIVES IN INDO-ARYAN

Notes on Some Special Uses

1. Not infrequently, Indo-Aryan languages prefer a demonstrative pronoun where the cognate modern European languages have an adverb. This use of demonstratives - when noticed at all - is registered differently by different grammarians and lexicographers.

John T. Platts writes in his Dictionary[1] s. v. *yah:* »pron. (prox. demons.) This; this person; - he; she; it; - adv. In this, herein; here; to the extent or degree (that), to this degree: - *yah āyā*, Here he is come, here he comes: - *yah dekho,* See here, here it is (cf. *wah,* and *wah dekho,* etc.).« - In the same dictionary, s. v. *wah,* we read: »pron. That, the; that person; that thing; he, she, it; - (pl.) those; they (i. q. *we*)*;* ... - *wah,* or *wah dekho,* See there; there he (or it) is, le voilà; - *wah ātā hai,* There he (or it) comes.«

S. H. Kellogg mentions this use of demonstratives in his Grammar[2] under the marginal note 'Pleonastic use of Pronouns': »The demonstratives are sometimes used with the correlative, or with nouns, pleonastically. Thus, ... *kotvāl jī tau ve āte haĩ,* 'the Chief of Police is coming, to be sure'. In some such cases, the pronoun may slightly emphasize that to which it refers.«

Kellogg's example is taken from the Hindi version of Śakuntalā by Lakṣmaṇ S i n h. In the context, the quoted sentence reads[3] : *Dūsrā pyādā - (dekhkar) Kotvāljī to v e āte haĩ, rājā ne bhalā turant hī nibeṛā kar diyā.* In P i n c o t t' s edition of the Śakuntalā, we read two notes on the quoted text[4] : »11. *we* only fortifies the nominative *kotwāl.* - 12. *bhalā* is here an adverb, meaning 'to be sure'.«

The same example from the Śakuntalā is produced also by Kāmtāprasād Guru in his Grammar.[5] In the chapter dealing with adverbs, G u r u says[6] : »Words belonging

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[1] John T. Platts, A Dictionary of Urdū, Classical Hindī, and English. London, Reproduced photographically, Moscow, 1959.

[2] S. H. Kellogg, A Grammar of the Hindī Language. 3rd ed. (Our abbr. HGr.[3]) London, 1938, p. 434, § 737.

[3] Rājā Lakṣmaṇ Sinh-anuvādit Śakuntalā nāṭak. (Our abbr. Śak.) Sampādak Śyām Sundar Dās. l0th ed. Prayāg (Allahabad), 1931, p. 85.

[4] Frederic Pincott, The Śakuntalā. In Hindī. The text of Kaṅva Lachhman Siṅh. London (year not indicated), p. 122.

[5] Kāmtāprasād Guru, Hindī vyākaraṇ. (Our abbr. HV.) Sāśodhit sāskaraṇ. Kāśī (Benares; year of the Preface to the new edition: V. S. 2009). - See also the Russian translation: Камтапрасад Гуру, Грамматика хинди. Перевод с хинди П. А. и Р. И. Баранниковых. Часть I. (Our abbr. GrH. I). Москва 1957.

[6] K. P. Guru, HV., p. 176, § 218: *Dūsre śabd[(a)]-bhed jo binā kisī rūpāntar ke kriyā-viśeṣan ke samān up(a)yog mẽ āte haĩ unhẽ sthāniy[(a)] kriyā-viśeṣaṇ kahte haĩ. Ye śabd[(a)] kisī viśeṣ sthān hī mẽ kriyā-viśeṣaṇ hote haĩ; jaise, ... (ā) sarv[(a)]nām ... 'Kotvāl jī to v e āte haĩ.*' (Śakuntalā).

to other word-classes and used as adverbs without any change in form are termed 'adverbs by position' (*sthānīy(a) kriyā-viśeṣaṇ*). These words become adverbs in some special place only; as, ... (b) pronouns ... *Kotvāl jī to v e āte haĩ* [7] (Śak.).«

In Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā the quoted passage runs[8]: *Dvitīyaḥ (vilokya): E ś e amhāṇaṃ śāmī pattahatthe lāaśāśaṇaṃ paḍicchia idomuhe lakkhīadi* »The second (scil. policeman) (having looked up): 'Here (lit., this) our master is (to be) seen coming here with a paper in (his) hand after having obtained orders from the king'.«

It is to be noticed that, both in K ā l i d ā s a' s text and in Lakṣmaṇ S i n h' s Hindī version the words of the policeman are preceded by the absolutive 'having looked up' (*vilokya, dekhkar*). The policeman sees his master coming and wants to draw his prisoner's attention to this fact. Both of them are excited as the prisoner's life is in jeopardy. The pronouns *eśe* 'this' (in Māgadhī) and *ve* 'he' (honor. pl., in Hindī) reflect this emotional situation: the person bringing orders of the king is pointed out and, implicitly, attention is directed to the place where the person is seen coming. Thus, the translation of the Hindī version will read: »The second policeman (lit., footsoldier) (having looked up): '(Look) there (voilà, lit., he, honor. pl.) the kotwāljī is coming, well, the king has decided the matter at once.'« Though rendered by an English adverb ('there'), Māgadhī *eśe* and Hindī *ve* are no adverbs, but pronouns agreeing with the subject of the sentence in case and number, and, in Māgadhī, also in gender.

2. Another instance from the Śakuntalā illustrates the use of the demonstrative *yah: muni jī, ham y e haĩ* [9] »Here we are, o holy man!« In K ā l i d ā s a' s text, the passage runs[10]: *Kāśyapaḥ: ... (sadṛṣṭikṣepaṃ) Kva te Śārṅgaravamiśrāḥ. (Praviśya) śiṣyāḥ: Bhagavan, i m e smaḥ* »Kāshyapa: ... (with a sidelong glance): 'Where is Shārṅgarava and the others?' - Pupils (having entered): 'Here (lit., these) we are, Your Reverence!'«

Here, the pronoun is in the nominative plural both in the original text (Skt. *ime*) and in the Hindī version (*ye*), reference being made to the subject of the sentence (first person plural, implied in Skt. *smaḥ* 'we are', and expressed explicitly in Hindī *ham*). The pronoun is used, again, in drawing attention to a certain phenomenon, scil. to the presence of Śārṅgarava and others. Kāshyapa looks for them, but he does not see them. The pupils reply by reporting their presence. Kāshyapa has to look in the direction of the pupils, hence, the pronouns *ime, ye* receive the meaning 'here'.

3. In the chapter treating of pronouns and their uses, G u r u gives some lines on demonstratives used as adverbs. He says of the demonstrative *yah*[11]: »Sometimes '*yah*' occurs as an adverb and has the meaning of 'just now' or 'now'.« G u r u has two examples (ibid.): *ījiye mahārāj, y a h maĩ calā* and *y a h to āp mujhko lajjit karte haĩ.* In the first example, the pronoun refers to the time of the event: »well, Sir, I am going already,«[12] lit., »please look, o great king, this - I have gone«. But there certainly is no merely temporal meaning in the second example. There, the

[7] P. A. and R. I. B a r a n n i k o v y translate (GrH. I, p. 178): «Вот идет Котвал джи.»

[8] Carl Cappeller, Kālidāsa's Śakuntalā (kürzere Textform). (Our abbr. Śak.) Mit kritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen. Leipzig 1909, pp. 68-69.

[9] L. Sinh, Śak., p. 58.

[10] C. Cappeller, Śak., p. 45.

[11] K. P. Guru, HV., p. 105, § 127 *(ū): Kabhī-kabhī 'y a h' kriyā-viśeṣaṇ ke samān ātā hai aur us kā arth* '*abhī' vā 'ab' hotā hai ...*

[12] P. A. and R. I. Barannikovy translate (GrH. I, p. 112): «Ну, господи, теперь я пошел.»

behaviour of the person addressed is pointed out: »Thus (or, thereby), you make me feel ashamed, indeed«.[13] Here, the pronoun *yah* (dir. sg.) does not refer to the subject of the sentence (*āp* 'you', requiring the predicate and any respective adjunct to be in the honorific plural), nor to any other part of the sentence. It is placed in the sentence like an interjection expressing surprise, resentment, etc. Primarily, or genetically, this pronoun represents an emotional sentence: »This! You make me feel ashamed, indeed!«

4. Mutatis mutandis, the same applies to the pronoun *vah*. G u r u writes[14]: »Like *yah,* also *vah* is sometimes used as an adverb and, then, it has the meaning of 'there' or 'so much'.« Here, again, G u r u gives two examples (ibid.): *naukar v a h jā rahā hai* and *logõ ne cor ko v a h mārā ki becārā adhmarā ho gayā.* The first example points out the fact of coming with the accessory idea of place, cf. the instances given above, sections 1 and 2. The translation will be: »There (= voilà) the servant is coming.«[15] In the second example, the sense is: »The people thrashed the thief so that the poor man became half-dead«.[16] Here, the pronoun *vah* (dir. sg.) agrees with participle *mārā* (dir. sg.; *mārā* functions as the predicate of the sentence); *logõ* is oblique plural, *cor* is oblique singular. *Itnā,* if used instead of *vah,* is direct singular meaning 'such a quantity' = 'so much', 'so' (cf. Latin t a n t u m in the expression t a n t u m posse 'to have such a great power'). The sense of *vah* in the example in question is nearly the same as the meaning of *itnā:* 'that' = 'that much', 'so'. But the pronoun *vah* reflects the emotional attitude of the speaker more immediately than *itnā.* Primarily, or genetically, the idea is: »That (= voilà!)! The people thrashed the thief! The poor man became half-dead!«

Another example of similar kind is *śer v a h hãsā, v a h hãsā, ki kuch na pūcho* (B. K. B a n a r j ī[17]) »the tiger laughed so (much), laughed so (much) that it was beyond description«, lit., »the tiger, he laughed, he laughed, that do not ask any question«. Here, the intransitive verb *hãsnā* 'to laugh' requires the personal construction: the syntactical subject of the sentence and the agent of the action expressed by the verbal predicate are one and the same, viz. *śer* 'tiger'. The pronoun *vah* agrees with the noun *śer* (cf. similar agreement in the examples given above, sections 1 and 2), precisely because *śer* is the subject of the sentence, and not because it is the agent of the action (the deictic demonstrative pronoun need not agree with the agent of an action, see the example *logõ ne cor ko v a h mārā ...*).

Hence, the agreement of the deictic demonstrative pronoun is merely formal and accidental: its proper function is not to qualify the word to which it formally refers. The deictic demonstrative pronoun may be attracted by the word in the subject (*kotvāl jī, ham, naukar, śer* in the above-cited passages), or by the participle functioning as the predicate (*logõ ne cor ko v a h mārā*), or it may be used absolutely (*y a h to āp mujhko lajjit karte haĩ,* see above, section 3). Thus, the formal connection of the deictic demonstrative pronoun with the rest of the sentence varies. Not only

[13] P. A. and R. I. Barannikovy translate (GrH. I, p. 112): «Сейчас-то Вы меня укоряете.»

[14] K. P. Guru, HV., p. 107, § 129 (ī): *'yah' ke samān 'vah' bhī kabhī-kabhī kriyā-viśeṣaṇ kī nāĩ prayukt hotā hai aur us samay uskā arth 'vahã' vā 'itnā' hotā hai ...*

[15] P. A. and R. I. Barannikovy translate (GrH, I, p. 114): «Там идет слуга».

[16] P. A. and R. I. Barannikovy translate (GrH. I, p. 114): «Народ так избил вора, что несчастный остался едва жив.»

[17] Bādal Kumār Banarjī, Gudgudī. Manmohan. Allahabad, May 1958, p. 12.

semantically, but also formally the deictic demonstrative pronoun proves to be an element offerring resistence in complying with the structure of a sentence. The explanation is that, primarily, or genetically, the deictic demonstrative pronoun does not represent any part of any sentence, but an independent interjectional sentence followed by another sentence conveying the proper idea to be expressed.

5. Some more instances to illustrate the use[18]:

Bhīkhū (harṣ(a) se) - Ḍākṭar sāhab to ā bhī gaye. Ḍākṭar sāhab, Basant y a h rahā ... - Ḍākṭar - ... To y a h laṛkā hai! (V. P r a b h ā k a r[19]) »Bhīkhū (joyfully): 'Doctor has come, indeed! Doctor, h e r e is Basant ...' - Doctor: '... So this (or here) is the boy!'«

Mukhyādhyāpikā - ... pust(a)kẽ usko do. (Sulekhā Nirmalā ko pust(a)kẽ detī hai.) Sulekhā - Y e rahĩ pust(a)kẽ. (V. P r a b h ā k a r, ibid., p. 63) »(Senior) teacher: '... Give her the books.' (Sulekhā gives Nirmalā the books.) Sulekhā: 'Here are the books!'«

Dekho dost, agar mujhe kuch ho jāy to merā ghar tum le lenā. Y a h rahī cābhī ... (Nav(a)bhārat ṭāims[20]) »'Look, (my) friend, if something happens to me, so take my house (for yourself). Here is the key ...'«.

'Kahã jāte ho?' - 'Tumhāre pās ātā thā ...' - 'Maĩ y a h hũ.' (J a i n e n d r a[21]) »'Where are you going?' - „I wished to come (lit., I was going) to your place." - 'I am here'.«

'Kaunsā ghar hai tumhārā, Suṣ(a)mā?' - „V a h rahā ... v a h bīc kā ...". (G. B a c a n s i n h[22]) »'Which house belongs to you, Sushamā?' "T h e r e it is, t h a t one in the middle ..."«

6. The choice of a demonstrative pronoun instead of an adverb or vice versa may depend upon stylistic considerations:

Dūsrā vyakti - (iśārā karke) Udhar dekho, v a h nīlā pardā hai na! Pratāp - Hã. - Dūsrā vyakti - Bas ve vahĩ rahte haĩ (V. P r a b h ā k a r[23]) »Second person (having made a gesture): 'Look there, there is a blue curtain (lit., that is a blue curtain), isn't it?' - Pratāp: 'Yes.' - Second person: 'Well, he is (honor. pl.) living there.'«

Here, *udhar dekho* could be replaced by *v a h dekho* (see below, section 7).

Pronoun and adverb may alternate: *Aur tum dekho. Ãgūṭhī v a h rahī, maĩ y a h ã khaṛā hũ* (J a i n e n d r a[24]) »And look. The ring is there, I am standing here.«

7. *yah* and *vah* expressing emotional attitude are often combined with *lo* 'look!', 'behold!' (lit., 'take'), *lījiye* '(please) look!' (honorific form), *dekho* 'look!', *dekhiye* '(please) look'! (honorific form). The idiom has the force of an interjectional sentence:

y a h lo, battī bujhāte hī maccharõ kī bhunbhanāhaṭ hone lagī (J. C. J a i n[25]) »(oh) look (lit., take this; genetically: this! - take), no sooner had the lamp been put out than mosquitos began buzzing (lit., buzzing of mosquitos began).«

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[18] It is noticeable that the deictic demonstrative pronoun often occurs in connection with *rahā, rahī rahe* meaning '(he, she, it) is', '(they) are', etc.

[19] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, Mã kā beṭā. Nāṭ(a)kõ kā sãgrah. 3rd ed. Allahabad, 1956, p. 16.

[20] Nav(a)bhārat ṭāims (Navbharat Times), Bombay, March 27, 1960, p. 9.

[21] Jainendrakumār, Jainendrakī śreṣṭh(a) kahāniyã. 3rd ed. Bombay, 1957, p. 115.

[22] Guru Bacansinh, Rekhāyẽ. Delhi, 1956, p. 40.

[23] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, Mã kā beṭā. Nāṭ(a)kõ kā sãgrah. 3rd ed. Allahabad, 1956, p. 11.

[24] Jainendrakumār, Jainendrakī śreṣṭh(a) kahāniyã. 3rd ed. Bombay, 1957, p. 135.

y a h dekho, phak phak kartī huī relgāṛī sṭeśan par ākar khaṛī ho gaī (J. C. J a i n[26]) »(oh) look, here (lit., see this; genetically: this! - look) the train, puffing and blowing, has come into the station and stopped«.

y a h līјiye, gāṛī ākar khaṛī ho gaī (Ś r ī n ā t h s i n h[27]) »(oh, please) look, here (lit., please take this; genetically: this! - please take) the train has come and stopped«.

y a h līјiye, āpke makān kā bīmā ho gayā, y a h hai kāġaz (Nav(a)bhārat ṭāims[28]) »(oh, please) look (lit., please take this; genetically: this! - please take), your house has been insured, here (lit., this) is the paper«.

v a h dekho, Dev(a)dās ā gayā (M. N. G u p t a[29]) »(oh) look, there (lit., see that; genetically: that! - look) Devadās has come«.

y a h dekhiye, tel kī dūkān ā gaī (J. C. J a i n[30]) »(oh, please) look, here is an oil-shop«, lit., please see this; genetically, this! - please look, an oil-shop has come.

8. There is no syntactic or semantic peculiarity in the attributive use of demonstrative pronouns in instances such as *dīdī dekho na k̲huśī se kaise mast haĩ y e bacce* (S. D. V a r m ā)[31] »just look, sister, how these children are inebriated with joy!« Here, the emotional attitude of the speaker is expressed by the word-order, the extended subject *ye bacce* being placed at the end of the sentence.

In an exclamatory phrase such as *Hāy Rām! y e bacce!!* (Yaśpāl)[32] »Ah Rām!, these children!« the emotion of the speaker is indicated by the very form of the exclamation.

9. In other New Indo-Aryan languages, too, deictic demonstrative pronouns may imply accessory adjuncts of place, time, etc., and may occur in an interjectional, or quasi-interjectional, function.

In P a n j ā b ī, demonstrative pronouns have only one form for both the direct singular and the direct plural. They are not expressive of gender. The use of deictic demonstrative pronouns is in line with the Hindī idiom:

ḍākīā - (thaile val ishārā kar ke) Ā h tasīldār sāhib dī ḍāk e (B. G ā r g ī[33]) »postman (pointing towards his bag): '(Look) here (lit., this) is the magistrate's mail'«.

ā h phaṛ ik ānā (ibid., p. 21) »here is an anna (for you)«, lit., take this; genetically: this - take - one anna; cf. the Hindī idiom *yah le, yah lo.*

Garībū Shāh - Ciṭṭhī ? - Kesro - Hã̃, ciṭṭhī, ā h vekh (ibid., p. 22). »Garībū Shāh: 'A letter?' - Kesro: 'Yes, a letter, here it is'« (lit., see this; genetically: this! - look; cf. the Hindī idiom *yah dekh, yah dekho*).

ā h lao, Natthī te Giāno dā hasāb mukāundā ã̃ (ibid., p. 121) »here look (lit., take this; genetically: this! - take; cf. the Hindī idiom *yah lo*), I strike Natthī's and Giāno's account off.«

i h lao chī vīhã̃. Pūre giṇ ke sã̃bh lao. I h pãj vīhã̃, i h ho giā pūrā sau, i h das te i h pãj - kīne ho gae? (ibid., p. 71) »here are your one hundred and twenty (scil., rupees).

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[25] Jagadīścandra Jain, Subodh hindī. II. 2nd ed. Bombay-Calcutta-Madras-New Delhi-Hyderabad, 1958, p. 46.

[26] Jagadīścandra Jain, Saral hindī pāṭhmālā. I. New impression. Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, 1954, p. 9.

[27] Śrīnāthsinh, Uljhan. Allahabad, 1934, p. 147.

[28] Nav(a)bhārat ṭāims (Navbharat Times). Bombay, March 6, 1960, p. 9.

[29] Manmathnāth Gupta, Punarjanma. Bal bhār(a)tī. Delhi, November 1952, p. 4.

[30] Jagadīścandra Jain, Saral hindī pāṭhmālā. I. New impression. Bombay-Calcutta-Madras, 1954, p. 54.

[31] Sāvitrī Devī Varmā, Divālī ke khel khilaune. Bāl bhār(a)tī. Delhi, November 1948, p. 18.

[32] Yaśpāl, Citr[(a)] kā śīrṣak. Lakhnaū (Lucknow), 1952, p. 17.

[33] Balwant Gārgī, Kesro. 2nd ed. Ambala-Delhi-Agra-Jaipur-Nagpur, 1953, p. 20.

Count it carefully and take it. Here are five scores (of rupees), that is one hundred, here ten and here five - what is the total?«, lit., take these; genetically: these! - take (cf. the Hindī idiom *yah lo*) six scores. Having counted full, take all. T h e s e five scores, this has become a full hundred, these ten and these five - how much has become?

lai, a u h giā te, a u h giā! (ibid., p. 21) »(oh) look, there he goes, there he goes!«, lit., take, he has gone, he has gone!

10. In B e n g a l i, there are remarkable idioms with the demonstratives *ei* 'this' and *oi, ai,* 'that'. They are not expressive of gender (gender is natural in Bengali, and not grammatical). In A. T. D e v' s Dictionary[34], the meanings of these demonstratives are given thus:

ei pron. a. This, this very, even this; ad. just now; immediately; - int. hallo! ... *ei kebal* Just now ... *ei to* This only; just so; here you are!

eimātra ad. Just now, just this moment, this very instant, only this.

ei re int. What a difficulty!

ai int. Oh, ho, holla, ha, aye; pron. that, yon, yonder; ... a. yonder, yon; same, that.

ai j'ā[35] Oh it is gone!, oh what a mistake; oh dear!

ai j'e There it is, yonder lies

ai re, ai go int. Look there, O ho!

Some instances to illustrate the use:

e i j'e »here it is« (S. K. C h a t t e r j i; BST., p. 192)

dekha, e i pāyer dāg! »look, here are the tracks!« (S. K. C h a t t e r j i, ibid., p. 186)

o i ek jhā̃k mayūr! »there is a flight of peacocks!« (S. K. C h a t t e r j i, ibid., p. 186)

o i ekṭā baṛa rui-māch ghāi mārche! »there's a big carp tumbling!« (S. K. C h a t t e r j i, ibid., p. 187)

e i to ṭebile selāiyer bāksa (R. Ṭ h ā k u r)[36] »here on the table (is) a work-box«

e i se pratham dekhle eman ekṭā kāṇḍa j'ār kono māne nei (R. Ṭ h ā k u r, ibid., p. 63) »now for the first time, he saw such an event which had no meaning«

a i dekho, dekho, oder kī sundar cheleṭi (R. Ṭ h ā k u r, ibid., p. 51) »(oh) look, look there, what a nice child they have!«

a i ceye dekh bāgāne eklā base khelche (R. Ṭ h ā k u r, ibid., p. 51) »look, there (the child) is sitting alone in the garden (and) playing«

e i nāo tomār dādār ciṭhi (A. S i m h a)[37] »here take the letter of your elder brother« (cf. the Hindī idiom *yah lo*).

11. In G u j a r ā t ī, the demonstrative pronouns *ā* 'this', *e* 'that' (or, sometimes, 'this'), *te* 'he', 'she', 'it', 'that' have no distinction of gender and number when not used as personal pronouns. Their use is parallel to the Hindī idiom. Some examples may illustrate the main points:

hũ to ā cālyo (N. K. P ā ṭ h a k)[38], or, with another word-order, *ā hũ cālyo,* Hindī: *y a h maĩ calā* (H. K. V y ā s)[39] »I am going already (or: immediately, this very moment)«, lit., »this - I have gone«

[34] Ashu Tosh Dev, Student's Favourite Dictionary, Bengali to English. 7th ed. Calcutta, 1950. - Cf. also Śrījñānendramohan Dās, Bāṅgālā bhāṣār abhidhān. Allahabad-Calcutta (year of the Preface: 1323, corresponding to A. D. 1917).

[35] The letter j' is employed in the transliteration for the Bengali 'antastha ja'. Cf. the transliteration adopted by Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Bengali Self-Taught. (Our abbr. BST.) London, 1927.

[36] Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur, Lipikā. Calcutta 1352 (A. D. 1945), p. 33.

[37] Śrīāśalatā Siṃha, Surer utsa. Prabāsī, kārttik 1344 (Calcutta 1937), p. 135.

ā to tame musībat ubhī karo cho, Hindī: *yah to āp musībat kharī karte haĩ* (H. K. V y ā s, ibid., p. 97) »thus (or: thereby, see above, section 3; lit.: this) you stir up ill luck, indeed«

ā rahyũ (N. M. D h r u v a)[40] »here it is« (cf. Hindī: *Basant y a h rahā* above, section 5)

le, hũ to ā ūṭhyo (P. L. P a ṭ e l)[41] »look, I am getting up already (or: immediately, this very moment)«, lit., »take - this - I have got up«.

The pronoun *e* 'that' (or, sometimes, 'this') in the direct deictic function:

Prāṇdhār - Koṇ che bhāī? (Bārṇũ ughāḍe che). - Rājsevak - E to hũ Pāṭaṇ thī āvyo chũ. Mahārāj Mūlrājno sevak (N. K. P ā t h a k)[42] „Prāṇdhār: 'Who are you, (my) friend (lit., who is, brother)?' (He opens the door.) - Rājsevak: 'It is I - servant of Mahārāj Mūlrāj - coming here from Pāṭan (lit., this - I have come from Pāṭan. Servant of Mahārāj Mūlrāj).«

e śũ bolyã? (U. Ś. J o ṣ ī)[43] »what did you say?!'« (said in expressing surprise and disapproval). Cf. Hindī: *y a h āp kyā kahtī haĩ?* (M. L. N e h r ū)[44] »what do you say?!« Here, the demonstrative pronoun (Guj. *e,* H. *yah*) is neither subject, nor object of the sentence, but a word used primarily to draw attention, hence, a word of interjectional character.

12. In M a r ā ṭ h ī, the demonstrative pronoun is expressive of gender (masculine, feminine, and neuter). Hence, the agreement applies to gender, case, and number:

Dādā ... Nānā, tithalyā uśā (nom. acc. pl. f.) *ikḍe āṇ pāhũ zarā. - Nānā (uśā āṇūn) - H y ā* (nom. acc. pl. f.) *ghe* (M. M a n o h a r)[45] »Dādā (elder brother) '... Nānā, bring those (lit., from that place) pillows here.' - Nānā (younger brother) (having brought pillows): 'Here they are' (lit., take them, genetically, they! - take).«

H ẽ (nom. acc. sg. neut.) *pahā māzhã ek ḍizhāin* (nom. acc. sg. neut.) *Kāy kalpanā hotyā mājhyā ḍokyãt ekek? āṇi h ā* (nom. acc. sg. m.) *pahā vimānāçā*[46] *navīn tarheçā paṅkhā* (M. M a n o h a r, ibid., p. 51) »Look here (is a) design of mine! What ideas I had in my head! And look, here (is an) aeroplane wing of a new type!«, lit., in both sentences: see this ..., genetically, this! - see ...

H ẽ (nom. acc. sg. neut.) *bagh, tulā bheṭāylā āmhī sāre ālõ āhõt* (M. M a n o h a r , ibid., p. 58) »Just look, we all have come to see you«, lit., see this ..., genetically this! - see ...

When in subject of a sentence, the demonstrative pronoun takes the gender and number of its predicative noun:

H ẽ (sg. neut.) *āplãç ghar* (sg. neut.) *āhe* (M. M a n o h a r, ibid., p. 58) »This is (our) own home, indeed«.

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[38] Nandkumār Pāṭhak, Rudramāl. Sāhityalah(a)rī II, editors: A. L. Majhmudār, M. L. Jhaverī etc. 3rd ed. Bombay-Ahmadabad 1955, p. 263.

[39] Harikṛṣṇa Vyās, Ek mās mẽ hindī. Lāṭhī (Kāṭhiyāvāḍ), 1941, p. 96.

[40] N. M. Dhruva, Gujarati Self-Taught. London (year of the Preface: 1920), p. 90.

[41] Pannālāl Paṭel, Valāmaṇã. 4th ed., Ahmadabad, 1954, p. 17.

[42] Nandkumār Pāṭhak, Rudramāl. Sāhityalah(a)rī II, editors: A. L. Majhmudār, M. L. Jhaverī, etc. 3rd ed. Bombay-Ahmadabad 1955, p. 259.

[43] Umāśaṅkar Joṣī, Bār(a)ṇe ṭakorā. Sāhityalah(a)rī I, editors: A. L. Majhmudār, M. L Jhaverī, etc. 3rd ed. Bombay-Ahmadabad 1955 p. 220.

[44] Mohanlāl Nehrū, Śrīmatī kā talāq. Sarasvatī. Allahabad, October 1936, p. 352.

[45] Āī (Karel Čapek-kṛt 'Madar').Anuvādak Mādhav Manohar. Bombay (year of the Pref.:1942), p. 49.

[46] The letter *ç* is employed in the transliteration for the Marāṭhī alveolar *c* [ts].

Kāy kiçkaṭ ḍāv (sg. m.) *āhe h ā* (sg. m.)! (M. M a n o h a r, ibid., p. 58) »What a difficult play this is!«

Kevḍhī ānandcī goṣṭ (sg. f.) *āhe h ī* (sg. f.)! (M. M a n o h a r, ibid., p. 59) »What a joy!«, lit., »what a matter of joy this is!«

The Hindī idiom *y a h maĩ calā* and Gujarātī *ā hũ cālyo* (see above, sections 3 and 11) have their parallel in the Marāṭhī idiom *h ā mī çāllõ.* J. T. M o l e s w o r t h mentions this idiom in his Dictionary[47] s. v. *hā* pron.: »He; or this ... 2 There is a striking use of this pronoun in order to convey the impression of instantaneity, or superlative briefness of time, or extreme celerity of action. Ex. *tumhī puḍhẽ calā hā mī māgūn yetõ;* i.e. This very I (unaffected by the lapse even of a moment, the very identical composition now before you) will rejoin you; *mī hāc ālõ, mī hāc yeīn* etc. I am returned the very person that left you; i.e. I am back in a trice. The word is declinable.«[48]

In this idiom, the function of the demonstrative pronoun is rather to direct attention to the fact of coming, going, etc., than to qualify the subject of the sentence. The agreement is merely formal and accidental (cf. above, section 4). Primarily, and genetically, the sense is: This! (= look!, behold!, etc.) I have come, gone, etc.

13. The use of deictic demonstrative pronouns in drawing attention to a certain phenomenon can be traced in Middle Indo-Aryan and Old Indo-Aryan period. K ā l i d ā s a' s Śakuntalā offers several instances of this use both in P r ā k r i t and in S a n s k r i t. Two of them have been quoted above (sections 1 and 2). Some more instances:

(praviśyāpaṭīkṣepaṇa citraphalakahastā) Caturikā - iaṃ cittagadā bhaṭṭiṇī[49] »[having entered in a hurry with a painting in (her) hand] Caturikā: 'Here is the picture of the lady', lit., 'this (is) the lady represented in a picture'.«

Vidūṣakaḥ ... (sāvadhānaṃ nirūpya. Dṛṣṭvā): Ā. Eso dāsīeputto kusumarasapāḍaccaro tatthabhodīe vāṇaṃ abhilaṅghadi mahuaro[50] »Vidūshaka ... (having attentively examined [the picture]. Having seen [a bee]): 'Oh! Here (a) bee (lit., this bee), the miscreant, the thief of the flower-nectar, is jumping across the face of the lady!'«

tasyāḥ puṣpamayī śarīralulitā śayyā śilāyāmiyaṃ
klānto manmathalekha eṣa nalinīpattre nakhairarpitaḥ
hastādbhraṣṭamidaṃ bisābharaṇamityāsajyamānekṣaṇo
nirgantuṃ sahasā na vetasagṛhācchakto'smi śūnādapi[51]

»Here (lit., this) on the rock, (is) her flowery bed touched by (her) body, here (lit., this) (is her) withering love-letter engraved by (her) finger-nails on a lotus-leaf, here (lit., this) (is) the ornament made of lotus-fibres, which fell down off (her) hand - (and) suddenly, having fixed (my) eye upon these (things, lit., having fixed eye in this manner), I am not able to go out of this arbour made of reeds though it is destitute.«

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[47] J. T. Molesworth, A Dictionary Marāṭhī and English. 2nd ed. Bombay, 1857.

[48] This idiom closely resembles the use of demonstrative pronouns in apposition to the subject of a sentence, e.g., *Mumbaī h ẽ śahar āhe* »Bombay is a city«, see Ganpatrao R. Navalkar, The Student's Marāṭhī Grammar. 3rd ed. Bombay, 1894, p. 302, § 566.

Molesworth's entry s. v. *hā* pron. reads further on: »3 An interjection of hasty prohibition or menacing repression.« The connection of this interjectional meaning with the deictic function of the pronoun - if any - can be found out only after close examination of an adequate number of examples.

[49] C. Cappeller, Śak., pp. 77-78.

[50] C. Cappeller, Śak., p. 80.

[51] C. Cappeller, Śak., p. 36.

In several other places of K ā l i d ā s a' s Śakuntalā, a demonstrative pronoun occurs connected with another pronoun, e.g., *ayamahamāgacchāmi*[52] »here I come«; *nepathye - ayamahaṃ bhoḥ*[53] »behind the scene: 'Hallo!, here (am) I!'«, etc.

For P ā l i *idaṃ,* neuter of *ayaṃ* 'this here' in the function of a deictic particle, T r e n c k n e r' s Dictionary[54] has these equivalents: 'there', 'here', 'now', 'thus', 'so (just)'. M. M o n i e r - W i l l i a m s[55] gives the same meanings as equivalents of *idam* in Old Indo-Aryan (see below, section 16).

J. S. S p e y e r[56] quotes Atharvaveda I, 29,5: *úd asaú sūryo agād úd idáṃ māmakáṃ vácaḥ* »there the sun has risen, here my word (has risen)«. More examples of the deictic use of demonstrative pronouns in Old Indo-Aryan and the respective references are to be found, e.g., in B ö h t l i n g k' s Dictionary.[57]

14. Sanskrit grammars do not dilate upon the syntax of pronouns. Explanations of the use of demonstratives - when produced at all - are rather scanty. A. A. M a c d o n e l l[58] gives some bare facts, especially: »As in Greek and Latin, a demonstrative pronoun agrees with its predicate in gender; e.g. *asau paramo mantraḥ* 'this (masc.) is the best counsel' (masc.).« Of the use of the pronouns *eṣa* 'this' and *ayam* 'this', M a c d o n e l l says[59]: »Both are often employed agreeing with a subject in the 1. or 3. pers. sing. in the sense of 'here'; e.g. *eṣa tapasvī tiṣṭhati* 'here a devotee stands'; *ayam asmi* 'here am I'; *ayam āgatas tava putraḥ* 'here comes your son.'«

J. S. S p e y e r[60] tries to explain the Sanskrit idiom: »Our modern languages, the demonstratives of which, in comparison with those of Sanskrit, are, phonetically, too little marked to bring forward the deictic sense in all its sharpness by themselves, often employ pronominal adverbs where the Indian has demonstratives.«

15. In the opinion of some scholars, the demonstratives are used in the sense of 'here' and in other adverbial meanings under certain limitations, scil.: (a) in the nominative forms of any gender; (b) in the nominative-accusative singular neuter.

V. Sh. A p t e says in his Dictionary[61] s. v. *idam:* »2 Present, seen; the nominative forms are used with verbs in the sense of 'here'; *iyam asmi* here am I; so *ime smaḥ; ayam āgacchāmi* here I come.«

J. W a c k e r n a g e l,[62] discussing the absence of the termination *-s* in the nominative singular of demonstratives, says: »This peculiarity is surely connected with the

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[52] C. Cappeller, Śak., p. 37.

[53] C. Cappeller, Śak., p. 39.

[54] V. Trenckner - Dines Andersen - Helmer Smith, A Critical Pāli Dictionary. Vol. I, Copenhagen 1924 s. v. *ayaṃ.* - Cf. also T. W. Rhys Davids - Williams Stede, Pali-English Dictionary. Chipstead, Surrey, 1925, s. v. *ida, idaṃ.*

[55] Monier Monier-Williams, A Sanskrit-English Dictionary. New ed. (Our abbr. SEDict.) Oxford, 1951, s. v. 2. *idám.*

[56] J. S. Speyer, Vedische und Sanskrit-Syntax. (Our abbr. VSS.) (Grundriß der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde. I. Band, 6. Heft.) Straßburg, 1896, p. 40, § 132.

[57] Otto Böhtlingk-Rudolf Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch. St. Petersburg, 1852-1875, s. vv. *adas, idam, etad, tad.* - See also Hermann Grassmann, Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda. Leipzig, 1936, s. v. *idám,* etc.

[58] Arthur A. Macdonell, A Sanskrit Grammar for Students. 3rd ed. (Our abbr. SGr.[3]) London, 1927, reprinted 1955, p. 181.

[59] Arthur A. Macdonell, SGr.[3], p. 183.

[60] J. S. Speyer, VSS., p. 40, § 132.

[61] Vaman Shivram Apte, The Student's Sanskrit-English Dictionary. 2nd ed. (Our abbr. StSEDict[2]) Bombay, 1922.

fact that, originally, the nominative of the demonstratives was a kind of an adverb of place.« And, mentioning the use of the nominative of demonstratives in the sense of adverbs of place, he repeats: »The adverbial use is perhaps the original phenomenon.«[63]

Examples produced by W. D. W h i t n e y,[64] however, show that an adverbial meaning may be involved even when the demonstrative pronoun is in another case than in the nominative or accusative: *tasya mama* 'of me here', *tasmiṃs tvayi* 'in thee there'. Thus, when taken into the structure of a sentence, the deictic pronoun may be attracted either by the subject, or by an attribute (*mama*), or by an adverbial adjunct (*tvayi*), or by a participle functioning as a predicate (in an impersonal construction, see the Hindī agentive construction *logõ ne cor ko v a h mārā,* above, section 4), or even it may remain in an absolute construction (in the form of nom. acc. sg. neuter). The clue to the problem is to be looked for rather in this syntactic vacillation than in the phonetic structure of the deictic demonstrative pronouns.

16. Discussing the nom. acc. sg. neuter forms of pronouns, J. W a c k e r n a g e l says (AiGr. III, p. 497): »It is noteworthy that all these forms are also used as adverbs; *idám* means also 'here', *adáḥ* also 'there', *tát* also 'there', 'then', *etát* also 'so', 'here', 'now', *yát* also 'when', 'if', 'that', *kím* also 'why'. The adverbial *adáḥ* seems to be pre-classical only, *idám* almost only pre-classical.«

Louis R e n o u[65] also remarks to the use of demonstratives as adverbs: »... more frequent in ancient period or in buddh.: *tat* 'there', 'in that case', 'then' ...; 'here'; *idam* ... 'here', ... 'thus', etc. ...«

The less frequent occurrence of the deictic demonstratives used 'as adverbs' in the classical period may be in connection with the primarily, or genetically, interjectional character of the deictic demonstratives in the respective contexts. In this function, the pronouns do not easily comply with the syntactic structure of a sentence, consequently, they are avoided in literary texts of a language particular about observing grammatical rules.

The primarily - or genetically - interjectional character of the deictic demonstrative pronouns in respective contexts accounts for the variety of meanings the pronouns may convey. An exclamation such as 'this!' or 'that!' points out a phenomenon as a complex, the actual idea of the speaker being expressed by the sentence added to the interjection. The sense of the demonstrative varies accordingly.

M. M o n i e r - W i l l i a m s' Dictionary gives these meanings of deictic demonstratives used as 'indeclinables' in the form of nom. acc. sg. neuter:

S. v. *adás:* ind. thus, so; there.

S. v. 2. *idám:* ind. (Ved. and in a few instances in classical Sanskrit) here, to this place; now, even, just; there; with these words; in this manner.

S. v. *etád:* ind. in this manner, thus, so, here, at this time, now (e.g. *ná vā́ u etán mriyase,* thou dost not die in this manner or by that, RV, i, 162, 21).

[62] Jacob Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik. III. Band von Albert Debrunner und Jacob Wackernagel. (Our abbr. AiGr.III) Göttingen, 1930, p. 496.

[63] Jacob Wackernagel, AiGr. III, p. 509-510: „Vielleicht ist die adverbiale Verwendung das Ursprüngliche".

[64] William Dwight Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar. 8th issue of the 2nd ed. (Our abbr. SGr.[2]) Cambridge, (Mass.) - London, 1955, p. 190, § 498.

[65] Louis Renou, Grammaire sanscrite. Tome I. Paris 1930, p. 155-156: »On peut noter en fonction adverbiale: ... c) Des pronoms, plus nombreux à date ancienne ou en bouddh: *tat* cl. «là, en ce cas, par suite» Mhv. I 415 «ici» *idam* III 484 «ici» S. ép. BKÇS. XII 84 Mhv. I 415 «ainsi, etc. » ... «

S. v. *tád:* ind. there, in that place, thither, to that spot ...; then, at that time, in that case ...; thus, in this manner, with regard to that ...; on that account, for that reason, therefore, consequently ...; now (clause-connecting particle) ...; so also, equally, and.

A less ample choice of meanings is given in V. Sh. A p t e ' s Dictionary (StSEDict.[2], s. vv. *etad* ind., *tad* ind.).

17. Retaining much of its primarily interjectional force, the deictic demonstrative pronoun of necessity has a relatively free position in a sentence. This is the reason why scholars represent this pronoun as used 'freely', or even 'pleonastically', and 'emphatically' at the same time.

W. D. W h i t n e y ' s explanation reads (SGr.2, p. 190, § 498): »Though the demonstrative root *ta* is prevailingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, *só'hám,* this I, or I here; *sá* or *sā́ tvám* thou there; *te vayam,* we here; *tasya mama* of me here, *tasmiṃs tvayi* in thee there, and so on.«

M. M o n i e r - W i l l i a m s (SEDict., s. v 1. *idám*) says: *»Idam* occurs connected with *yad, tad, etad, kim,* and a personal pronoun, partly to point out anything more distinctly and emphatically, partly pleonastically (e.g. *tad idaṃ vākyam,* this speech here following; *so 'yaṃ vidūshakaḥ,* this Vidūshaka here).« Almost the same explanation is given by V. Sh. A p t e (StSEDict.[2], s. v. *idaṃ*): »4 It occurs connected with *yat, tat, etad, adas, kiṃ* or a personal pronoun, either to point out anything more distinctly and emphatically, or sometimes pleonastically.« (Cf. also the opinion of K e l l o g g and P i n c o t t given above, section 1.)

What is called 'emphasis' with demonstratives in question is, in reality, hardly anything else than the deictic character itself. Semantically, these pronouns are by no means pleonastic, as their peculiar function in a sentence combined with other means of expression (gestures, voice, etc.) serves for expressing an emotional attitude of the speaker.

18. A close parallel to the discussed functions of Indo-Aryan demonstrative pronouns can be found in Old Greek. In Old Greek, the meanings of the deictic demonstrative pronouns are these:

ὅδε 'this', 'this here'; 'here'

τόδε 'this', 'this here'; 'here'; 'this time'; 'therefore'

οὗτος 'this', 'this here'; 'here', 'there'

τοῦτο 'this'; 'therefore'; 'thus';

ταῦτα 'these'; 'therefore'; 'thus'

ἐκεῖνος 'that'; 'there'.

A few examples from H o m e r to illustrate the use:

ἡμεῖς ο ἵ δ ε (Od., *α*, 76) »we (who are) here«

ξείνω δή τινε τ ώ δ ε (Od., *δ*, 26) »(there are) two foreigners here«

νηῦς δέ μοι ἥ δ' ἕστηκεν ἐπ' ἀργῦ νόσφι πόληος ἐν λιμένι 'Ρείθρῳ (Od., *α*, 185) »my ship is standing here in the country, far from the city, in the gulf of Rheithron«

ἔγχος μὲν τ ό δ ε κεῖται ἐπὶ χθονός, οὐ δέ τι φῶτα λεύσσω (Il., Υ, 345) »the spear is lying here on earth, but I do not see the man«

οὐ μὲν γάρ τοι ἐγὼ κακὸν ὀσσομένη τ ό δ' ἱκάνω (Il., Ω, 159) »this time I am not coming to announce you misfortune«

Νέστορ' ἔρειο, ὅν τινα τ ο ῦ τ ο ν ἄγει βεβλημένον ἐκ πολέμοιο (Il., Λ, 611-612) »ask Nestor, who is the wounded man whom he is bringing here from the battle«

κ ε ῖ ν ο ς ὅ γε προπάροιθε νεῶν ὀρθοκραιράων ἧσται ὀδυρόμενος ἕταρον φίλον (Il., T, 344-345) »there he is sitting in front of the ships with high prows, bewailing (his) dear friend«.

The interjectional force is to be traced in the meaning of the demonstratives especially in instances such as *ο ὗ τ ο ς τις, Διόμηδες ἀπὸ στρατοῦ ἔρχεται ἀνήρ* (Il., K, 341) „(look) here, o Diomedes, a man is coming from the camp«.[66]

δῶρα δ' ἐγὼν ὅ δ ε πάντα παρασχέμεν ὅσσα τοι ἐλθὼν χθιζὸς ἐνὶ κλισίῃσιν ὑπέσχετο δῖος Ὀδυσσεύς (Il., T, 140-141) »(look) here, I (am ready) to give (you) as gift everything that the divine Odysseus promised to you yesterday after having come to (your) barracks«.[67]

Primarily, or genetically, these deictic demonstratives represent an interjectional sentence of the type „look here!“, „behold!“, etc., followed by another sentence conveying the proper idea of the speaker. After having been inserted into the second sentence, the deictic demonstratives comply with the structure of the sentence and agree with its subject. This process is in line with the tendency of Old Greek to express adjuncts of place, time, manner, succession, and state of mind not by adverbs, but by complemental (or predicative) adjectives agreeing in case, number, and gender with the word they refer to, i.e., most often, with the subject of the sentence. An example of this usage occurs in the above-given quotation from Homer, Il., T, 141: *χθιζός* „yesterday's“, rendered in the translation by the adverb 'yesterday' (cf. Old Greek-Attic *χθές* adv. 'yesterday').[68]

19. Thus, in Old Greek as well as in Sanskrit, certain adverbial adjuncts may be expressed in three ways:

(a) by an adverb, e.g., Skt. *atra, iha* 'here', Old Greek *ἐνθάδε, αὐτοῦ* 'here';

(b) by a demonstrative pronoun agreeing in case, gender, and number with its noun, e.g., Skt. *ayam* etc., Old Greek *ὅδε, οὗτος*, etc.;

(c) by the nom. acc. sg. neuter of a demonstrative pronoun, e.g., Skt. *idam,* Old Greek *τόδε, τοῦτο*.

The same applies to Prākrit and to Hindī with the restriction that, in Hindī, the demonstrative pronoun is not expressive of gender and only in certain cases the direct singular masculine may be interpreted as functioning for the lost neuter form.

Comparing the use of some demonstratives in Old Indo-Aryan, Old Greek, Gothic, and Old Church Slavonic, K. B r u g m a n n[69] says: »**so* and undoubtedly also other demonstratives were employed also adverbially since the Indo-Germanic period.«

Josef Z u b a t ý[70] is more precise: »For a certain period in the development of Indo-European languages, I conceive the relation between the adverb and the

[66] Notice the word ‚voici' in the French translation by Eugène Lasserre (Paris, year not indicated, p. 175): »Voici, Diomède, que du camp vient un homme.«

[67] Cf. again the word ‚voici' in the French translation by Eugène Lasserre (Paris, year not indicated, p. 353): »... et, comme présents, me voici prêt à te donner tout ce que, allant hier dans ta baraque, t'a promis le divin Ulysse.«

[68] More instances of the kind are given in any comprehensive grammar of Old Greek.

[69] Karl Brugmann, Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen. Neudruck. Berlin und Leipzig 1922, p. 400, § 495. - Cf. the opinion of Jacob Wackernagel, AiGr. III, pp. 496, 509-510, see the above-given quotations, section 15. - Besides, cf. Hermann Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik. Teil III. Heidelberg 1927, pp. 9, 25.

[70] Josef Zubatý, O jistém způsobu užívání zájmen *an* a *on* a o jeho původě. Listy filologické XXVI (1909), pp. 350-351. Reprinted in Josef Zubatý, Studie a články, II (our abbr. SČ.II), Praha, 1954, p. 104-105.

nominative form of a demonstrative pronoun so that the adverb was a part of the sentence, adverbial adjunct to the predicate or to another part of the sentence, the nominative form was one of the parts of a complex sentence, a deictic sentence followed by another sentence expressing the proper contents of the idea in question ... When an Indian said *átra,* the hearer knew that the speaker localized the idea in question in a certain place he was speaking of (or he was about to speak of immediately afterwards). But another matter was when he employed *idám* „*τόδε*“ or, as one solely says later on, *ayám* „*ὅδε*“. Here, something is meant what the hearer must directly see if he is to understand the speaker, the speaker must directly show the hearer the object in question either by bringing the object before his eyes (*ayám ahám* ‘here I am’, *ayám niṣkáḥ* ‘here is the necklace’), or by pointing with his finger at the object. That is the deictic function fulfilled, in our opinion, originally by an independent deictic pronominal sentence which we are able to express only by a word such as ‘behold’, ‘look’, etc. No doubt the demonstrative adverb and the deictic nominative of a pronoun are being replaced by one another, later on: the way for this replacement was open especially when the deictic sentence ceased to be a deictic sentence and became a part of the other sentence; but, e.g., in Old Indian and Old Greek, the difference between the two is very clear, still.

As to the difference between the deictic nominative neuter and the deictic nominative agreeing in gender and number with the subject of the sentence, ... the neuter (e.g., Old Indian **idám á gacchāmi* ‘this (i.e., here, look) I come’, which we can presume, Old Greek *τόδ᾽ ἰκάνω*) is an archaism ... When the old deictic sentence had lost its independence, the neuter had no grammatical support in the sentence, it was at variance with the demands of agreement and gave in to them: later Old Indian language does not say **idám á gacchāmi* any more, but *ayám á gacchāmi* (after all, this is the rule in the Vedic poetry already, and in the Vedic prose as well), later Old Greek language does not say *τόδ᾽ ἰκάνω* any more, but *ὅδ᾽ ἔρχομαι* etc.«

20. Z u b a t ý , s explanations apply not only to Old Indo-Aryan but also, in the main, to New Indo-Aryan. As regards Hindī, two features are to be pointed out: (a) in Hindī, the demonstrative pronoun is not expressive of gender; (b) what is described as successive stages by Z u b a t ý, are, in fact, co-existent linguistic phenomena in modern Hindī.

The speaker showing the hearer the object in question:

Dūsrā vyakti - (iśārā karke) Udhar dekho, v a h nīlā pardā hai na! (V. P r a b h ā k a r) »Second person (having made a gesture): ‚Look there, there (lit., that) is a blue curtain, isn‘t it?’« (cf. above, section 6 and fn. 23).

The demonstrative pronoun combined with a word meaning ‘behold!’, ‘look!’, etc., and representing an independent deictic sentence:

v a h dekho, Dev(a)dās ā gayā (M. N. G u p t a) »(oh) look, there (lit., see that, genetically: that! - look!) Devadās has come« (cf. above, section 7 and fn. 29; some more examples are given in the same section).

The deictic sense retained, but the demonstrative pronoun included in the other sentence:

Mādhav - Phir to yahā̃ prayogśālā bhī hogī? - Govind - Hā̃ dekho, *v a h dāhine hāth kī or prayogśālā hai* (J. C. J a i n)[71] »Mādhav: ‘Then there will be a laboratory

[71] Jagadīścandra Jain, Subodh hindī, I. 3rd ed. Bombay-Calcutta-Madras-N.Delhi-Hyderabad, 1958, p. 36.

here, as well?' - Govind: 'Yes, look, there (lit., that) on the right, there is the laboratory.'«

The demonstrative pronoun agreeing with the noun it refers to:

y e rahĩ pust(a)kẽ (V. P r a b h ā k a r) »Here (lit., these) are the books!« (cf. above, section 5 and fn. 19; for more examples, see sections l, 2, 4, 5; cf. also the agreement in Marāṭhī, section 12 above).

Demonstrative pronoun alternating with an adverb:

Aur tum dekho, ãgūṭhī v a h rahī, maĩ y a h ã̃ khaṛā hũ̃ (J a i n e n d r a) »And look. The ring is there (lit., that), I am standing here.« (Cf. above, section 6 and fn. 24.)

21. The deictic function of the demonstrative pronouns survives in New Indo-Aryan. The tendency to observe the agreement with the subject of the sentence (in spite of the syntactic vacillation of the deictic demonstrative, cf. above, sections 4 and 15) survives as well.

In Hindī, the use of the deictic nominative of demonstrative pronouns in agreement with the subject of the sentence is supported by a similar use of complemental adjectives expressing adverbial adjuncts in instances such as:

Is samay gāṛī bahut d h ī m ī cal rahī hai (M. N. G u p t a)[72] »The train is going very slowly now.«

Bhāgīrath s ī d h ā apne ghar calā gayā (V. P r a b h ā k a r)[73] »Bhāgīrath went straight home.«

Compare also the form of the pronominal adjective *kaisā* used predicatively:

Baccā k a i s ā hai, Bhagavatīdevī k a i s ī haĩ, mātā jī k a i s ī haĩ? Mahātmā jī k a i s e haĩ? (P r e m c a n d)[74] »How is the child, how is Bhagavatīdevī, how is (your) mother? How is Mahātmā?«

To comply with rules of agreement, an adverb may take the declinable postposition *kā, kī, ke.* See in P l a t t s' Dictionary (cf. above, fn. 1):

S. v. *kab* adv. When? ... *kab kā (kī, ke)* Of what time, or period? how long since? since when? - long since, ever so long ago.

S. v. *kabhī* adv. Sometime or other ... *kabhī kā (kī, ke)* Of sometime; sometime ago, long since.

S. v. *kahã̃* adv. Where? ... *kahã̃ kā (kī, ke)* Of or belonging to what place?

The use of these forms is highly idiomatic and characteristic of the tendency to prefer nominal forms to adverbs. Some examples:

yah faqīr k a h ã̃ k ā ā gayā (J a i n e n d r a)[75] »this fakir came for nothing«

k a b h ī k ā baiṭhā hũ̃, tum ab tak kahã̃ rahe? (Bh. T i v ā r ī)[76] »I am sitting (here) since a long time, where have you been till now?«

k a b k ā maĩ intazār kar rahā hũ̃, par tumhārā patā hī nahĩ calā (Bh. T i v ā r ī, ibid., s. v. *kab*) »I am waiting since long, but there is no trace of you.«

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[72] Manmathnāth Gupta, Punarjanma. Bāl bhār(a)tī. Delhi, November 1952, p. 4.

[73] Viṣṇu Prabhākar, Jīvan-parāg. 3rd ed. New Delhi 1957 p. 31. - The adjective *sīdhā* may alternate with the adverb *sīdhe: kṛpā kar apne hoṭal kā patā śīghr(a) likho tāki maĩ s ī d h e sṭeśan se tumhāre hoṭal mẽ calā āũ̃* (Śrīrām Śarmā, Jī En Sīh aur Lipsī. Sarasvatī. Allahabad, January 1934, p. 58) »Be so kind as to write me the address of your hotel soon so that I can come to your hotel direct from the station.«

[74] Premcand ke caubīs patr(a). Ājkal. Delhi, October 1952 p. 49. - On the other hand compare the use of the adverb *kaise* in *yah kām* k a i s e *hogā* »how will this work be done?« Hindī śabdsāgar, I, Kāśī, 1916, s. v. *kaise*

[75] Jainendrakumār, Jainendrakī śreṣṭh kahāniyã̃. 3rd ed. Bombay, 1957, p. 114.

[76] Bholānāth Tivārī, Hindī muhāvarā koṣ. Allahabad (year of the Preface: 1951), s. v. *kabhī kā.*

22. As shown by Josef Z u b a t ý,[77] in the use of deictic demonstrative pronouns, Old Indo-Aryan, Avestan, Old Greek, Latin, and Old Church Slavonic went a long way in close parallelism with one another. This parallelism has survived to a certain extent in modern languages. There is a particularly close parallelism between the Hindī phrase *v a h hãsā!* »he laughed!« (= how much he laughed!) and the Czech equivalent »t e n se smál!« (putting the demonstrative 'ten' instead of the personal pronoun 'on'). When used in an emotional speech (cf. the example given above, section 4), both the Hindī and the Czech idiom receives the meaning 'he laughed very much'.[78]

In Czech, the demonstrative pronoun t o (nom. acc. sg. neuter) 'this' is often used as a deictic interjection[79] developing, secondarily, emotional meanings,[80] and, eventually, conveying non-interjectional, adverbial ideas. Thus, the demonstrative pronoun t o may occur as an equivalent of adverbs such as 'here', 'then', 'at that time', etc.[81] Also other forms of the demonstrative pronoun t e n 'this' are a means of expressing an emotional attitude of the speaker, giving an emotional shadow to a sentence, especially in the colloquial language.[82]

Thus, both in India and in Europe, the development of the use of the deictic demonstrative pronouns has produced results parallel to one another and, at the same time, reminding of what Josef Z u b a t ý[83] considers to be the very starting point of the development of demonstratives in Indo-European languages. Z u b a t ý says (SČ. II, p. 105-106): »I have said my starting point to be the state of Indo-European languages presumed for a certain stage of their development. Before their development reached that stage, the demonstrative pronouns undoubtedly had had other forms which, after all, were based upon mere deictic interjections ...«

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[77] Josef Zubatý's treatise of the use of the Czech pronouns *an* and *on* (SČ. II, pp. 53-106, see above, fn. 70) traces the development of the employment of deictic demonstrative pronouns in many languages: Old and Modern Czech, Polish, Russian, Ukrainian, Serbian, Slovenian, Old Church Slavonic, Lithuanian, Old Indo-Aryan, Avestan, Old Greek, and Latin. Occasionally, explanations are added about the use of demonstratives in Latvian, German, and other languages.

[78] For the explanation of this Czech idiom, see František Trávníček, Mluvnice spisovné češtiny. 3rd ed. (Our abbr. MSČ.[3]) II, Praha 1951, p. 1149, § 696.

[79] František Kopečný, Základy české skladby. 2nd ed. Praha 1962, p. 152: *„... to* je aspoň na Moravě obvyklá interjekce deiktická" („...*to* is a usual deictic interjection at least in Moravia"). - For the use of the demonstrative pronoun *to* as an interjection in Old Czech, see Josef Zubatý, SČ. II, pp. 88-89. Besides, see František Trávníček, *Historická mluvnice česká* III (our abbr. HMČ.III), Praha 1956, p. 16. - For a parallel development of the demonstrative pronoun in Polish and Serbian, see Josef Zubatý, SČ. II, pp. 90-91.

[80] It expresses wonder, surprise, or excitement, exasperation, embitterment, regret, etc. See examples given by František Trávníček, MSČ.[3], pp. 1150-1152, § 697, 1-7. Cf. also Vladimír Šmilauer, Novočeská skladba, Praha 1947, section „Náladová slova" („Words expressing mood"), pp. 29-30. - For the emotional use of the demonstrative pronoun *to* in Old Czech, see František Trávníček, HMČ.III, p. 20.

[81] František Trávníček MSČ.[3] pp. 1152-1153, § 697, 8. - See also František Kopečný, Základy české skladby, 2nd ed. Praha 1962, p. 152.

[82] Bohuslav Havránek - Alois Jedlička, Česká mluvnice. Praha 1960, p. 173. - František Trávníček, MSČ.[3], pp. 1149-1150, § 696.

[83] Josef Zubatý is not too far from Jacob Wackernagel and Hermann Hirt (see above, sections 15 and 19), in his opinion.

ON THE PERFECTIVE VERBAL ASPECT IN HINDĪ

Some features of parallelism between New Indo-Aryan and Slavonic languages

1,1. In New Indo-Aryan languages - and in Slavonic languages as well - a verb may often be used in two sets of parallel forms conveying the same basic lexical meaning. In Slavonic languages, forms of a simple verb or those of a prefixal compound may occur in both of these sets.[1] In Hindī, the one set presents forms of a simple verb, the other set is represented by forms of a verbal expression formed by combining the simple absolutive of a main verb with a modifying verb. Such a verbal expression denotes the verbal action as modified in some way or other. Various modifying verbs serve to modify the action denoted by the simple absolutive of the main verb, and the modification of the action varies accordingly. The categories of tense, mood, etc. are only expressed by the form of the modifying verb.

With most intransitive verbs[2] - less often with transitive verbs - *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' is used as a modifying verb. In this combination, *jānā* loses its meaning of 'going', 'going away', e.g.: *girnā* 'to fall', *gir jānā* 'to fall (down)'. For the complete sets of forms of *girnā* and *gir jānā,* see the conspectus of finite and non-finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

This study deals with the meanings and functions of such modified verbal expressions with *jānā.* Only by way of exception, some other modified verbal expressions are mentioned or discussed, especially in the section treating of meanings of the present tense (see nos. 8,2-4), and in connection with various additional shades of meaning associable with the idea of perfectiveness (no. 28,4). A complete picture of the system of verbal aspects in Hindī can only be given after examining the functions of single modified verbal expressions in detail, taking one by one, in a series of comprehensive monographic studies.

The raison d'être of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* can only be found out by comparing their meanings and functions with those of their unmodified counterparts. This, in particular, applies to their grammatical functions. Hence, a great part of this study deals with the uses of the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* as well as with those of unmodified verbs in finite and non-finite verb-forms (nos. 2-21). Semantic implications come forward with some groups of verbs (nos. 22-24), then with varying

[1] Cf. below, at no. 29,1.

[2] For exceptions, see below, at no. 30,1.

relations between the component parts of modified verbal expressions (no. 25), and with the uses of these expressions in various sorts of sentences (no. 26).

The notion of perfectiveness as derived from the meaning of perfective verbs in Slavonic languages generally applies to modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in Hindī, too, provided that the modifying verb is grammaticalized. English, on the other hand, has no particular verbal forms expressing the perfective verbal aspect. Perfectiveness, as denoted by unmodified verbs in Hindī and by indefinite tenses in English, is just one function among other ones fulfilled by these verbs or verb-forms respectively. Disregarding the other functions, no reliable conclusions concerning the aspectual function of the verb can be reached (no. 28).

After all, even the analogies between Hindī (or other New Indo-Aryan languages) and Slavonic languages generally apply to some broad lines of thinking only, never to any particular verb-form. In developing its means of expression, each language goes its own way (no. 29).

1,2. A modified verbal expression never represents a combination comparable with Slavonic prefixal compounds in their stability: for one thing, the modifying verb may retain its proper lexical meaning in a higher or lesser degree,[3] and for another, the absolutive is susceptible of varying relations to the modifying verb.[4] The sense often depends upon the context or situation.[5]

Thus, unlike the prefixal compounds of Slavonic languages, modified verbal expressions are no compounds proper, and the term "compound verbs" generally applied to these expressions may prove misleading. Using the term "compound verbs" for modified verbal expressions, grammarians have to mention that these "compounds" are no "true compounds".[6] The term "verbal expression" will better serve the purpose. This term is applied by R. L. Turner to semantic units formed, in Nepali, by combining the verb *garnu* 'to do' with substantives.[7] This sort of semantic units may more precisely be called "verbo-nominal expressions". For combinations of the absolutive with *jānu* 'to go' in Nepali, Turner has no particular term: he simply mentions that *jānu* is used intensively with the absolutive. But the term "intensive" is conceived differently by different scholars,[8] and can hardly be used without incurring the danger of being misunderstood. The term "modified verbal expression", on the other hand, comports with the nature of the expression in question and can conveniently be used without any misleading implications.

1,3. In Hindī, the simple absolutive is identical in form with the verbal stem. Hence, many grammarians state the "compound verbs" to be formed from the "verbal stem" or even from the "verbal root".[9] Some scholars mention expressly that the form of the main verb as used in the "compound verbs" is to be regarded as verbal stem, not as simple absolutive.[10]

[3] Cf. below. at no. 25,2.

[4] Cf. below, at nos. 25,4-5.

[5] Cf. the examples given below at nos. 25,4-5.

[6] Cf. Kellogg, p. 258. - For full bibliographic data, see the list added to this paper.

[7] Cf; Turner, p. 136, s. v. *garnu.*

[8] Cf. below, at no. 27,94.

[9] Cf. Sharma, A , pp. 86-87; Sharma, S., pp. 183-185; Bailey[2], p. 18; and others.

[10] Thus, especially, Greaves against Kellogg, see Greaves, pp. 330-331, cf. below, at no. 24,912; besides, see Hacker[1], p. 16.

Such an explanation, however, obscures the origin of the modified verbal expressions, as, in fact, these expressions developed from absolutival constructions.[11] No doubt the origin of the modified verbal expression is irrelevant to their meaning when the modifying verb is grammaticalized. But genetic considerations are useful in any case, and they may even be necessary when the modifying verb is not grammaticalized.

Besides, in modified verbal expressions, the simple absolutive may take varying functions; the structure and the sense of the expression varies accordingly.[12] Regarding the form of the main verb in these expressions as the verbal stem, this varying structure and varying sense of the expression are difficult to explain.

1,4. Referring to the modifying verbs, different scholars use different designations. Thus, e.g. T. G. Bailey and A. H. Harley have the term "auxiliary verbs". They apply, however, the same term to helping words of a different type, too, scil. to those forms of *honā* 'to be' that may function. as constituent parts of compound tenses.[13] A. Sharma distinguishes between "helping verbs",[14] or "subsidiary verbs"[15] used to form "compound verbs", and "auxiliary verbs" helping to form tenses, moods, and the passive voice.[16]

"Compound verbs" are described by S. N. Sharma as a combination of "the root of a primary verb with a secondary verb",[17] by V. M. Beskrovnyj and A. P. Barannikov as that of the "base" of a main verb (основа главного глагола) with a "formative" verb (образующий глагол).[18]

T. E. Katenina has also adopted the term "formative verb" (образующий глагол), but instead of the "base" of the main verb, she says "the form of the main verb identical with the base", adding in parentheses the note "historically, the absolutive".[19] Z. M. Dymšic, on the other hand, retains the term the "base of the main verb" (основа главного глагола), but, for the modifying verb, he employs the designation "subsidiary (formative) verb" [служебный (образующий) глагол].[20] For the forms of *honā* 'to be' as constituent parts of compound tenses Dymšic - in accordance with Barannikov and Beskrovnyj - employs the term "auxiliary verb" (вспомогательный глагол).[21] Katenina, mentioning the forms of *honā* used as constituent parts of compound tenses, alternates the terms "auxiliary verb"[22] and "copula" (связка).[23]

Some grammarians do not denote the modifying verb by any particular designation. Kellogg refers to the modifying verb simply as the "latter verb" or as "second conjugated member",[24] Greaves as "the second member of the compound".[25] As it is generally accepted that the "second member" serves to modify the meaning of the main verb,[26] it may conveniently be called "modifying verb". Consequently, the expressions thus formed are 'modified verbal expressions'. But the most frequent designations used for these expressions are those connected with the meaning they are supposed to express: "completives"[27] and "intensives".[28]

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[11] Cf. below, at no. 25,2.

[12] Cf. below, at nos. 25,4-6.

[13] Cf. Bailey[2], pp. 10, 18; Bailey[3], pp. 39, 72; Harley, pp. 11, 13, 59.

[14] Sharma, A , p. 56.

[15] Sharma, A., pp. 86-87.

[16] Sharma, A., p. 56.

[17] Sharma, S., p. 183.

[18] Beskrovnyj[3], p. 805; Barannikov[1], p. 129; Barannikov[2], p. 1285.

[19] Katenina[1], p. 69; Katenina[2], p. 1335.

[20] Dymšic[1], pp. 105-106; Dymšic[2], p. 1110.

[21] Dymšic[1], p. 66; Barannikov[1], p. 88 seqq.; Barannikov[2], p. 1275; Beskrovnyj[3], p. 796 seqq.

[22] Katenina[1], pp. 61-63.

[23] Katenina[1], p. 63; Katenina[2], pp. 1324-1326.

[24] Kellogg, p. 259.

[25] Greaves, pp. 330-331.

[26] Cf. Kellogg, p. 259; Greaves, p. 330; Sharma, A., pp. 56, 87; Sharma, S., p. 184; Barannikov[1], p. 129; etc.

[27] Cf. below, at no. 27,2 and the foot-note 345.

1,5. In his Hindī-Russian dictionary (Moscow 1962), O. G. Ulciferov consistently presents Hindī verbs and their Russian equivalents in parallel forms: headings have always the form of the infinitive of an unmodified verb translated by a Russian imperfective verb; then, as a rule, modified verbal expressions follow with Russian perfective verbs as their equivalents. Thus, we have, e.g., *ānā* 1) приходить ('to come'), прибывать ('to arrive'); *ā jānā* 1) прийти ('to come'), приехать ('to come'), прибыть ('to arrive'), etc.;[29] *uṭhnā* 1) вставать ('to get up'), подниматься ('to rise'); *uṭh jānā* встать ('to get up'), подняться ('to rise'), etc.[30]

Before Ulciferov, A. P. Barannikov and V. M. Beskrovnyj were equally consistent in translating modified verbal expressions with *jānā* (and with some other modifying verbs)[31] by Russian perfective verbs.[32] Beskrovnyj says explicitly that "intensive verbs" are translated into Russian by prefixal verbs of the perfective aspect.[33] Z. M. Dymšic ascribes aspectual meaning to the modifying verb itself.[34]

Some expressions, however, are treated by different Russian scholars differently. Thus, T. E. Katenina translates expressions denoting a "concrete direction" by an imperfective verb, whereas O. G. Ulciferov prefers a perfective verb.[35]

For the verb *honā,* Ulciferov gives these meanings: 1) быть ('to be') ...; 2) находиться ('to be found') ...; 3) случаться (impf.; 'to happen'), происходить (impf.; 'to occur'); случиться (pf.;'to happen'), произойти (pf.; 'to occur') ... (here, examples are given in tenses formed from the 2nd participle only.[36]) Ulciferov seems to have chosen the Russian equivalents for *honā* 3) with regard to the meanings of this verb in the preterite. By the preterite of unmodified verbs, perfectiveness of an action is very often expressed, though the preterite-form itself has n o inherent perfective aspect-meaning.[37]

The expression *ho jānā* is translated by Ulciferov становиться (impf.; 'to become') and immediately followed by the phrase *ṭhaṇḍ ho rahī hai* становится холодно 'it is getting cold'.[38] From this phrase, presumably, Ulciferov transferred the imperfective verb становиться to the expression *ho jānā.*

Beskrovnyj's Hindī-Russian dictionary (lst ed. 1953, 2nd ed. 1959) presents these meanings *of honā:* 1) быть ('to be'), иметься ('to be present'), существовать ('to exist'); *... ho jānā* a) стать (pf.; 'to become'), сделаться (pf.; 'to become', 'to be effected'); b) случиться (pf.; 'to happen') ...[39] Similarly, Ansari's Urdū-Russian dictionary (1964).[40] On the other hand, Beskrovnyj's Urdū-Russian dictionary, published some years earlier (1951), gives double sort of Russian verbs as equivalents of *ho jānā,* scil. perfective verbs and their imperfective counterparts: сделаться (pf. 'to become', 'to be effected'), стать (pf.; 'to become'), становиться (impf.; 'to become'), делаться (impf.; 'to become', 'to be effected').[41] Beskrovnyj's Hindī-Russian dictionary shows that Beskrovnyj has corrected his opinion.[42]

The varying treatment of modified verbal expressions in grammars and dictionaries indicates both the intricacy of the problem and the urgency of its solution.

1,6. The question may arise whether, in dictionaries, Slavonic imperfective verbs and their perfective counterparts should at all be regarded as correct equivalents of unmodified verbs and their perfective counterparts, i.e. of certain modified verbal expressions, in Hindī. This question is not easy to answer even if the perfectiveness of certain modified verbal expressions in Hindī is regarded as established beyond any doubt. For one thing, in the preterite-form, unmodified verbs must most often be

[28] Cf. below, at no. 27,94.
[29] Ulciferov, p. 54.
[30] Ulciferov, p. 69.
[31] Cf. below, at no. 28,4.
[32] Cf. below, at nos. 24,5 and foot-note 253; 27,2 and foot-notes 347, 349.
[33] Cf. Beskrovnyj[3], p. 807.
[34] Cf. below, at no. 27,7 and foot-note 378.
[35] Cf. below, at no. 24,5 and foot-notes 253, 255.
[36] See Ulciferov, p. 628. - For the term '2nd participle', see below, at no. 30,22.
[37] Cf. below, at no. 2,6.
[38] See Ulciferov, p. 628.
[39] Beskrovnyj[2], p. 1219.
[40] Cf. Ansari, p. 871.
[41] Beskrovnyj[4], p. 742.
[42] For a more detailed discussion of *ho jānā,* see below, at no. 24,2.

translated by Slavonic perfective verbs.[43] And, for another, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* (and with certain other modifying verbs) must sometimes be translated by Slavonic imperfective verbs: imperfective and perfective verbs (or verbal expressions, as may be the case) are not used in all languages in the same way. Thus, one Slavonic language prefers a perfective verb where another Slavonic language requires the imperfective one. This particularly applies to historic present, author's speech, scenic present (stage directions, etc.), characterizing present, etc.[44]

Yet, in dictionaries of Slavonic languages, verbs of one Slavonic language and their equivalents in another Slavonic language are, as a rule, chosen so that they may agree in their aspect-meaning. And Ulciferov had good reasons to adopt the same method in his Hindī-Russian dictionary (Moscow 1962), assigning Russian imperfective and perfective verbs consistently to unmodified verbs and their modified counterparts in Hindī respectively. It is a useful method giving an idea of the difference between the meaning of unmodified verbs and that of their modified counterparts. For details concerning the uses of the modified verbal expressions, the user of the dictionary will have to consult grammatical treatises.

1,7. In the opinion of some scholars, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* signify perfectiveness of the action when used in tenses formed from the 2nd (perfective, past) participle. When, however, occurring in other tenses, they are said to convey different shades of meaning: they denote the process striving for completion of an action,[45] or the idea of progress and continuance of an action.[46]

Paul Hacker trying to describe the meaning of "compound verbs", almost reached the definition of the perfective verbal aspect; then, however, he directed his attention to the fact that the use of "compound verbs" is to some extent optional, and, in conclusion, he states the "compound verbs" to be stylistic means.[47]

In Aryendra Sharma's view, "compound verbs" with *jānā* impart the "effective aspect, or completive",[48] whereas "the common, simple forms of verb" present "the terminate aspect".[49] J. Burton-Page applies the term "aspect" to "the grammatical level of analysis only", i.e. to certain syntactical constructions.[50] This contradicts the grammatical terminology adopted by many scholars in the last half century.

1,8. But difficulties are connected even with the terminology and definitions of verbal aspects in Slavonic languages.[51] The reason is that most definitions are based on semantic criteria. The verbal aspect, however, is a grammatical category.[52] In establishing a grammatical category, semantic criteria may only play a secondary role. In general, they are irrelevant, and, sometimes, they may even prove misleading. For this reason, some scholars try to define verbal aspect without mentioning any semantic feature. Thus, František Kopečný gives this definition of the aspect of Czech verb: "Verbal aspect is the distinguishing element of the linguistic fact

[43] Cf. below, at no. 2,1.

[44] Cf. the paper of H. Křížková on the uses of the historic present in Russian and in Czech, Křížková[1], pp. 247-254.

[45] Peter Gaeffke, cf. below, at no. 24,32, and foot-note 229.

[46] Siegfried Lienhard, cf. below, at no. 24,3, and foot-note 233.

[47] Cf. below, at no. 27,1.

[48] Sharma, A., p. 87.

[49] Cf. below, at nos. 28,1-2.

[50] Cf. below, at no. 26,4.

[51] Cf. below, at nos. 27,3-4.

[52] Cf. below, at nos. 27,921-4; 29,53.

that our verb may be used in two or three sets of parallel forms not differing from one another by their basic lexical meaning (and, consequently, translatable by one and the same form into a foreign, non-Slavonic language)."[53] Similarly Erwin Koschmieder, referring to the verbal aspect in Polish[54] and in Slavonic languages in general.[55]

The same applies to Hindī. When translating from Hindī into languages such as English, German, French, Italian, Latin, etc., one and the same verb may often serve as equivalent to both an unmodified verb and its modified counterpart with *jānā.* English 'to come' may stand for *ānā* (Russian 'приходить', Polish 'przychodzić', Czech 'přicházet') as well as for *ā jānā* (Russian 'прийти', Polish 'przyjść', Czech 'přijít'); English 'to fall' for *girnā* (Russian 'падать', Polish 'padać', Czech 'padat') as well as for *gir jānā* (Russian 'пасть', Polish 'paść', Czech 'padnout'); English 'to get up', 'to rise' may be used for *uṭhnā* (Russian 'вставать', 'подниматься, Polish 'wstawać', 'dźwigać się', Czech 'vstávat', 'zdvihat se') and for *uṭh jānā* (Russian 'встать', 'подняться', Polish 'wstać', 'dźwignąć się', Czech 'vstát', 'zdvihnout se'); etc.

1,91. Defining the imperfective verbs, Kopečný mentions their grammatical function only: "Imperfective verbs must simply be defined, if a precise definition is to be given, grammatically only, as verbs unmarked with regard to perfectiveness being able to be used after verbs denoting phase and after the verb *budu* (in periphrastic future). This non-semantic, formal feature is the most reliable criterion of the aspect."[56]

The term "unmarked with regard to perfectiveness" is explained by Kopečný thus: "Thus, we must not e.g. define the imperfectiveness as a contradictory category, i.e. applying the definition "the perfective verbs are expressive of perfectiveness" to perfective verbs, we must not say using a parallel definition "the imperfective verbs are expressive of imperfectiveness". Imperfectiveness is an unmarked category, it does not express itself in any way with reference to the fact of completion. That is to say, it does not preclude it either".[57]

This necessitates a significant conclusion: "And for this very reason that they do not express themselves with reference to the fact of completion, we may employ them when this completion is given by the situation."[58] Thus, in the sentence *"slyšels, co jsem říkal?"* ("Have you heard what I have said?"), both of the imperfective forms may be regarded as imparting completion, "closeness" of the action.[59]

On the whole, the same applies to unmodified verbs in Hindī. They are unmarked with regard to perfectiveness of the action, but can denote it in certain contexts or situations. This is most often the case in the preterite.[60] This squares with the development of the language: having developed from absolutival constructions,[61] modified verbal expressions have taken over one of the functions fulfilled by unmodified verbs, scil. the function of signifying perfectiveness of an action. Unmodified verbs, however, did not lose their capacity of expressing perfectiveness of an action themselves, too, and, in certain cases, they do express it.

But the idea of perfectiveness of an action is not equally consistent with any semantic content of a verb. This accounts for the fact that the semantic content of

[53] Kopečný[1], p, 6.
[54] Koschmieder[2], p. 1.
[55] Koschmieder[1], p. 3.
[56] Kopečný[1], p. 11.
[57] Kopečný[2], p. 12.
[58] Kopečný[2], p. 100.
[59] Kopečný[1], p. 10; besides, cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 8-9; Kopečný[2], p. 107.
[60] Cf. below, at nos. 2,1-2; 2,4.
[61] Cf. below, at no. 25,2.

modified verbal expressions does not always include all meanings of their unmodified counterparts.[62]

As to their functions, unmodified verbs have much in common with Slavonic imperfective verbs.[63] This applies even to their use in the form of an infinitive governed by a verb meaning 'to begin (doing something)', 'to stop (doing something)', and the like.[64]

But the term "imperfective" itself cannot be conveniently applied to unmodified verbs in Hindī: unlike Slavonic languages, Hindī has a particular form to denote an action in its progress, an action as a process.[65] This form, too, imparts a sort of "imperfectiveness of an action". For this reason, unmodified verbs will rather have to be regarded as neutral in respect of verbal aspect, or as zero-aspect verbs.[66]

1,92. Perfectiveness is a certain "mark" of verbal action inherent in the meaning of perfective verbs. Hence, perfective verbs are marked with regard to perfectiveness, they necessarily denote an action as perfective, they cannot be neutral in this respect. This opinion has been adopted by most Slavicists, though not always without some reservations.[67]

The number of reservations increases with any attempt to describe the perfectiveness more closely. Yet, for practical purposes, such description is needed, and is generally mentioned in treatises dealing with verbal aspects. According to an opinion frequently appearing in recent research works, the perfective verb expresses an action conceived as a closed whole, as a complex,[68] or as a fact.[69] For practical purposes, other semantic criteria are also mentioned, referring, in particular, to completeness or fullness of the action, or to suddenness, hastiness, unexpectedness, etc.[70] These descriptions and criteria may prove to be useful when combined with grammatical criteria, i.e. with an eye to grammatical functions of perfective verbs (and of perfective verbal expressions, as in Hindī).[71]

For practical purposes, main points relevant to the perfective aspect may tentatively be summed up in a formula, defining the perfective verbal aspect as the capacity of a verb (or, of a verbal expression, as in Hindī) to denote an action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final, resultant stage, sometimes, however, pointing out the beginning of the action.

In Slavonic languages, a perfective verb may point out completeness of an action, or its beginning, or its limitation in respect of time.[72] In Hindī, completeness of the action is most often pointed out, less frequently its beginning.[73]

Dimension of a verbal action is not relevant to the idea of perfectiveness: a perfective verb may denote a point-like action, or an action realized in a great span

[62] Cf. below, at nos. 24,1-2.
[63] Cf. below, at nos. 26,2-3; 26,5; 29,5.
[64] Cf. below, at no. 26,6.
[65] Cf. below, at nos. 8,2; 30,3.
[66] Cf. below, at no. 30,3.
[67] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 9; Kopečný[2], pp. 12, 100; Němec[2], pp. 303-304.
[68] Cf. below, at no. 27,3.
[69] Cf. below, at no. 27,41.
[70] Cf. below, at no. 27,931-5.
[71] Cf. below, at nos. 27,921-4; 29,51-3.
[72] Cf. Havránek[1], p. 219.
[73] Cf. below, at no. 22,1-3.

of time;[74] it may signify a concrete single action, realized at one occasion only, or a repeated, habitual action, or a timeless action. This applies not only to perfective verbs in Slavonic languages and in Lithuanian, but also to perfective verbal expressions in Hindī.[75]

1,93. Though useful on the whole, semantic criteria and definitions may prove misleading when applied to particular cases. The only factor of relevance to the perfectiveness of modified verbal expressions in Hindī is the grammaticalization of the modifying verb. Unless the modifying verb is grammaticalized, no perfective verbal expression is formed, though the meaning of the main verb may be modified in a way or other. Then the expression remains neutral in respect of verbal aspect: by itself, it does not express the perfectiveness of the action, but it does not preclude it either, and may signify it in certain contexts and situations. Thus, we have, e.g. *le jānā* 'to take away' (non-perfective or perfective); *so jānā* 'to go to sleep'; 'to fall asleep" (non-pf. or pf.); *de jānā* 'to leave (a thing behind for someone)'; 'to give and go away' (non-pf. or pf.).

The grammaticalization or non-grammaticalization of the modifying verb combined with varying functions of the absolutive of the main verb result in some formations resisting any particular classification.[76] Sometimes, one and the same absolutive with one and the same modifying verb may form a semantic unity in one context, but, in another context, they are two verbs with their own lexical meanings.[77] In the one case, the modifying verb is a grammatical word and has a grammatical meaning only. In the other case, it is both a lexical and grammatical word, or a lexical-grammatical word, for it has its lexical meaning and, at the same time, conveys certain grammatical meanings according to the syntactic functions it fulfils. This fact is no isolated phenomenon in Hindī: several absolutives and participles are also used either as grammatical words (postpositions, conjunctions), or as lexical and grammatical words at the same time (i.e. as lexical-grammatical words).[78] The function actually fulfilled by the word is sometimes difficult to specify.

1,94. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may take any finite verbal form, but they are uncommon in the 2nd subjunctive, 2nd habitual, and 2nd conditional, i.e. in forms infrequent even with unmodified verbs. The infinitive of these modified verbal expressions is of rather frequent occurrence. Participles and absolutive are infrequent, but they do occur. J. Burton-Page's assertion to the contrary[79] is disproved by documentary evidence.[80]

On the other hand, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* cannot be indiscriminately used in sentences of any sort. Their occurrence is less common in an interrogative sentence than in an affirmative declarative sentence. In negative sentences and in sentences affirmative in form, but suggesting a negative meaning,

[74] Cf. below, at nos. 27,933; 27,936.

[75] Cf. below, at no. 29,6.

[76] Cf. below, at nos. 25,4-5.

[77] Cf. below, at no. 25,2. Besides, cf. Barannikov[1], p. 128; Bailey[2], p. 19; Bailey[3], p. 73. - Dymšic mentions that "intensive verbs" are formed immediately in speech in any individual case, cf. below, at no. 25,6 and foot-note 294.

[78] Cf. below, at no. 27,922.

[79] Cf. Burton[2], p. 472.

[80] Cf. below, at nos. 18,1-6; 19,1-3.

these expressions are uncommon.[81] A sort of "competition" between the modified verbal expressions and their unmodified counterparts may even appear in affirmative declarative sentences.[82] Here, again, there is a certain analogy with the "competition of verbal aspects" in Slavonic languages.[83]

1,95. The most characteristic feature of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is their use in the present tense: they may fulfil the function of a historic present, author's speech, scenic present (in stage directions, etc.), characterizing present and timeless present in general,[84] but are uncommon in the function of an actual present, i.e. in the present-tense form denoting an action as a process taking place at the present time. In this point, again, there is an analogy with Slavonic languages,[85] and, in particular, with Lithuanian[86] (in Slavonic languages, the present tense of perfective verbs generally denotes a future action).

This feature, characteristic of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* as a grammatical category,[87] can only be established by examining the uses of these expressions, never by inquiring into the meanings of components forming these expressions. The analysis of modified verbal expressions as made by some scholars[88] may only be useful in genetic researches, i.e. in tracing the origin of these expressions. The specific sense of these expressions can never be deduced directly from the meaning of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away', nor from dismembering the expression, taking the absolutive of the main verb separately as a sort of an absolutival construction and the verb *jānā* as a verbal predicate. By this very dismembration, the modified verbal expression ceases to be a modified verbal expression, the meaning of perfectiveness is lost, the raison d'être of the expression disappears.

2,1. It is generally accepted that, in the preterite,[89] modifted verbal expressions with *jānā* denote an action as completed. But their unmodified counterparts also denote an action as completed. In translation, the same equivalents have most often to be given in either case. In Slavonic languages, the same perfective verb, as a rule, has to be used:

kal tumhārā patr[(a)] m i l ā (Premcand[4], p. 49) 'yesterday I received your letter.' *kaī din hue tumhārī hindī kahānī m i l g a ī* (Premcand[4], p. 50) 'some days ago, I received your Hindī short story.'

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[81] Cf. below, at no. 26,11-13.
[82] Cf. below, at nos. 26,2-3.
[83] Cf. below, at no. 26,5.
[84] Cf. below, at nos. 10,1-6.
[85] Cf. below, at no. 29,3.
[86] Cf. below, at no. 29,4.
[87] Cf. below, at nos. 27,921; 27,923.
[88] Thus, in particular by Paul Hacker, cf. below, at nos. 24, 5-6.
[89] *Sāmāny[(a)] bhūt(kāl):* Guru, pp. 350, 365, etc.; Greaves, pp. 208, 492. - Indefinite Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 234, 237, etc.; Greaves, pp. 208, 215, 219, etc.; Scholberg, pp. 80, 84, 87, etc. - Past Indefinite: Sharma, S., pp. 47, 162. - Past Tense: Bailey[2], p. 16. - The (simple) Past Tense: Sharma, A., p. 59. - Indicative Past: Sharma, A., pp. 65 seqq. - Past Indicative: Bailey[3], p. 45. - Perfect: Harley, p. 18. - Preterite: Tisdall, pp. 108 seqq. - Präteritum: Lienhard, pp. 129 seqq. - Erzählende Vergangenheit (Präteritum): Spies, p. 44. - Претерит (прошедшее совершенное): Beskrovnyj[1], p. 90. - Прошедшее совершенное время (претерит): Katenina[1] p. 63; Katenina[2], p. 1326. - Прошедшее совершенное время: Barannikov[1], p. 90-91, Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1277; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 797; Dymšic[1], p. 68; Dymšic[2], p. 1081. - Dokonavý čas vyprávěcí, Historic or narrative perfect tense: Pořízka[1], p. 178 seqq.; but see below, at no. 30,23; cf. also the conspectus of verb-forms added to this treatise.

In these two sentences, the same action is expressed in two different ways. It is a matter of some interest that, in acknowledging the receipt of a letter, the unmodified verbs are most often used, in particular, when nothing interferes with the routine correspondence, the letters being exchanged in due time, and the like.[90]

When attention is focused on the realization of the action, a modified verbal expression is usually employed. And attention may be directed to a sudden and unexpected action in one case, and to a slow[91] or an anxiously expected action in another case:

acānak hamāre paṛosī kā baccā chat se g i r g a y ā (Prabhākar[3], p. 9) 'suddenly, the boy of a neighbour of ours fell down from the roof;' a sudden action.

yah dekhiye, tel kī dūkān ā g a ī (Jain[4], p. 54) 'please look, here is (lit., 'has come') an oil-shop,' i.e. such a shop as we have been looking for; an expected action.

Are! Yah to gāṛī chūṭ rahī hai aur Dev(a)dās abhī tak nahĩ āyā... Vah dekho, Dev(a)dās ā g a y ā (Gupt, p. 5) 'Oh dear, the train is starting, and Devadās has not yet come ... Look there, Devadās has arrived;' an anxiously expected action.

Ham log to gāṛī par the. Dev(a)dās gaṛī chūṭne ke bād pleṭfārm par ā y ā (Gupt, p. 5) 'We were in the train. Devadās arrived on the platform when the train had (already) started;' a boy gives a detailed account of what happened, the action itself is known.

2,2. The preterite may also denote a past action as multiplied (repeated), i.e. as a series of completed actions, when repetition of the action is given by the context or situation at the same time. The series itself is conceived as completed as well. The verb may take the unmodified form, or the form of the modified verbal expression with *jānā*. This squares with the fact that, in languages capable of expressing the imperfective and perfective verbal aspects, both imperfective and perfective verbs may also be employed to denote a multiplied (repeated) action: actions forming a series may be conceived as imperfective or as perfective.[92] This applies to Slavonic languages and to Lithuanian.[93]

T. G. Bailey states that "compound verbs" with *jānā* indicate a single action or occasion.[94] The fact that these expressions may also denote a multiplied (repeated) action has escaped his attention. But the texts of his own text-book present modified verbal expressions with *jānā* - in the present-tense forms - signifying a habitual action.[95]

Paul Hacker mentions that in Hindī, the preterite denotes a completed action and that the completion of the action may have taken place several times.[96] He refers, however, to the preterite of unmodified verbs only.

Repetition of the action denoted by an unmodified verb:

Mahāśay jī, āp ne dekhā, hamāre naukar kaise badtamīz hote haĩ. Kitnā hī s a m j h ā y ā, d ā ṭ ā, p h i ṭ k ā r ā ki kurtā-ṭopī pahankar sāmne āyā karo, nahĩ mānte (Nehrū, M., p. 351) 'You have seen, Sir, how ill-mannered our servants are. How many times I warned (them), scolded (and) rebuked (them) to appear duly dressed, (but) they don't pay any attention.'

[90] Cf. below, at no. 26,2.

[91] Cf. below, at nos. 27,932-4.

[92] Cf. Dostál, p. 19.

[93] Cf. below, at nos. 12,2; 29,6.

[94] Bailey[3], p. 72: "When so compounded, they indicate a single action or occasion."

[95] Cf. below, at no. 10,7.

[96] Hacker[3], p. 211: "Der Satz zeigt, daß ein Prät. im Hindī zwar immer ein abgeschlossenes Geschehen bezeichnet, daß aber das Geschehen auch mehrmals abgeschlossen sein kann. Iterativität ist daher keine spezifisch dem Präs. und Impf. mögliche Aktionsart."

ek dafe kī ho to ho, barsõ s a m j h ā y ā, magar phūhaṛpan nahĩ gayā (Nehrū, M., p. 355) 'if it were the only time, let it be so. I have been warning (her) for years, but (her) slovenliness has not disappeared.'

kuch din tak ham ne moṭar kā istemāl k i y ā, lekin phir ... ṭrām se jānā hī ṭhīk samjhā (Sãkṛtyāyan, p. 31) 'for several days we were using car, but afterwards ... we found it (more) suitable to go by tram.' Here, double construction is possible: 1) simple continuance of the action ('the car was our means of conveyance'); 2) repetition of the action ('we took a car each time').

Repetition of the action denoted by an unmodified verb and by a modified verbal expression with *jānā:*

patnī ne kaī bār k a h ā, par vah ṭ ā l g a y e (Prabhākar[1], p. 33) '(his) wife told (him about it) several times, but he (always) put off (doing anything about it).'

2,3. The preterite may also denote continuance of an action for a long time in the past. This does not, however, of necessity imply that the past action is denoted as a process. K. de Vreese says: "The preterite of durative and iterative verbs in Hindī, as in Greek, conveys a factive meaning, i.e. states the fact of the proceeding action only, not the proceeding action itself (cf. *ἐβίωσαν χρόνον ἐπὶ πολλόν* Hdt II 133...)."[97] This only applies to instances where the action is presented as a whole, i.e. where perfectiveness of the action is expressed. The idea of perfectiveness is not precluded by the great dimension of the action, by the great span of time implied in its realization.[98] When an unmodified verb is used, the idea of perfectiveness may only be inferred from the context or situation:[99]

mahīnõ us mẽ l a g e (Premcand[4], p. 49) 'it took (whole) months.'
isī tarah do varṣ b ī t g a y e (Vyās, p. 47) 'thus, two years passed away.'

2,4. In the preterite, the aspectual differences sometimes disappear. Kopečný says: "In the preterite, the aspectual differences are sometimes wiped off by the very nature of the case, as, owing to the meaning of a given verb and, in particular, owing to the fact that the past-tense form is marked with regard to time, we cannot even imagine that no result of the action appeared. Thus, e.g., *kázal* is the same as *přikázal, rozkázal* ('he ordered'); *pravil* is the same as *řekl* ('he said'):"[100] This applies to unmodified verbs in Hindī, too, and accounts for the fact that unmodified verbs may alternate with their modified counterparts in the cases given above, at nos. 2,1-3.

But the wording "we cannot even imagine that no result of the action appeared" must not be interpreted in the sense that the perfective verb (or the perfective verbal expression, as in Hindī) denotes a resulting state: it only signifies the action as a whole, inclusive of its final, resultant stage.[101] We have, e.g.:

maĩ ne jab sunā ki tum ne Gopāl se *śādī kar lī, to mujhe baṛī coṭ l a g ī* (Sāhū, p. 19) 'when I heard you had married Gopāl it wounded me deeply;' preterite: no resulting state suggested, the next sentence may run, e.g., 'Afterwards, the pain disappeared.'

kahã̃ coṭ l a g ī h a i, beṭā, dekhū̃ ... (Prabhākar[2], p. 15) 'where is your wound, sonny, let me see ...;' perfect: resulting state expressed.[102]

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[97] De Vreese, p. 214.
[98] Cf. above, at no. 1,92, and below, at nos. 27,933; 27,936.
[99] Cf. above, at no. 1,91, and below, at nos. 2,4-5.
[100] Kopečný[2], p. 107; besides, cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 8, 10. 18.
[101] cf. above, at no. 1,92. Besides, cf. below, at no. 27,5.
[102] For the perfect tense, see below, at no. 3,1.

2,5. Siegfried Lienhard gives many examples of the preterite *rahā* 'he remained' combined with the 1st (imperfective, present) participle[103] of another verb. He calls this combination "durative or iterative" type.[104] K. de Vreese rejects Lienhard's construction; he believes that the preterite of durative and iterative verbs in Hindī conveys a factive meaning[105] and states: "That temporal adjuncts as *din bhar* 'the whole day', *rāt bhar* 'the whole night', *bahut dinõ tak* 'for many days', are characteristic of the use of the type *boltā rahā,* is not correct. The truth is rather that only in a factive use of the preterite the expression of a temporal relation is possible."[106] This last sentence of de Vreese should rather read "the expression of a temporal relation makes the possibility of a factive use more evident".

In fact, both the constructions are possible: that of S. Lienhard as well as that of K. de Vreese: continuance of an action may be denoted as a process in one case, and as a fact, as a whole, in another case. T. G. Bailey says: *"rahnā*[107] with the present participle of any verb means to go on doing something, keep on doing, continue to do. This closely resembles the English idiom."[108]

sārī rāt jūā khelte r a h e (Bailey[3], p. 98) 'they gambled all night.'

In this instance, a factive, i.e. perfective, construction is possible: 'they spent all night by gambling'. But another example given by T. G. Bailey at another page of his book, reads:

jhūṭhī bātẽ baktā r a h ā (Bailey[3], p. 170) 'he kept on telling lies.'

Here, the past action is presented as a process without any limitation. A perfective meaning ('he remained telling lies') is not absolutely precluded, but is highly improbable.

Premcand writes in one of his novels:

Horī cupcāp suntā r a h ā. B h i n k ā tak nahĩ. Jhũjhlāhaṭ h u ī, krodh ā y ā, kẖūn k h a u l ā, ãkh j a l ī, dãt p i s e; lekin b o l ā nahĩ (Premcand[1], p. 35) 'Horī kept on listening silently. He did not utter a sound. He got excited, flew into a rage, his blood got up, his eyes flamed (up), he gnashed his teeth; but he did not speak.'

Here, all the preterite-tense forms may be regarded as denoting perfectiveness of the respective actions, but with the first of them, the perfective meaning ('he remained listening' = 'he heard (it) out') is highly improbable. It is improbable even with the other preterite forms. Premcand seems to have chosen these unmodified verbs with an eye to the semantic content of the actions; not a single action is pointed out as a fact, as a whole. This may have been surmised by Russian translators of Premcand's novel: their translation of this passage presents Russian imperfective verbs only, not a single finite form of a perfective verb.[109]

2,6. The last example shows that, with durative verbs as well as with those denoting an activity, the preterite does not of necessity indicate perfectiveness of the action. A similar conclusion has been reached by Paul Hacker, too.[110] With verbs denoting activity, the sense depends upon the content of the statement and upon the context or situation:

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[103] For the terminology, see below, at no. 30,22.

[104] Lienhard, pp. 166 seqq.

[105] Cf. above, at no. 2,3.

[106] De Vreese, p. 214.

[107] Transcription of Hindī words modified to agree with that used in this paper.

[108] Bailey[3], p. 98.

[109] Cf. Krašeninnikov, p. 56: «Хори слушал, не говоря ни слова. Он был раздражен до предела, душа его была полна злобы, кровь бурлила в жилах, глаза гневно сверкали. Он скрипел зубами, однако не мог возразить ни слова.»

[110] Hacker[3], p. 216: »Außerdem zeigt das Beispiel von neuem, daß im Hindi auch im Prät. durative and iterative Ereignisse ausgedrückt werden können. Der Begriff "durativ" ist hierbei nicht im Gegensatz zu "abgeschlossen" zu verstehen, sondern im Gegensatz zu "punktuell"«.

Lalcanmā jab tak j i y ā, jī jān se merī sevā us ne k ī (Nāgārjun, p. l2) ‘Lalcanmā took care of me with all his soul as long as he lived.’

vidyārthiyõ ne lagbhag 15 din tak bahut utsāh se kāry[(a)] k i y ā (Rameś, p. 14) ‘the students were working with enthusiasm for nearly 15 days.’

The same verb *karnā* ‘to do’ in the preterite denoting perfectiveness of the action: *beṭā Haricand, tum ne yah bahut acchā kām k i y ā* (Gupt, p. 5) ‘Harichand, my boy, you did a very fine thing.’

2,7. The preterite of *honā* ‘to be’, ‘to become’ has the meanings ‘(he) was’, ‘(he) existed’, ‘(it) came to pass’, ‘(it) took place’, etc. The preterite of *ho jānā* means ‘(he) became’, ‘(it) happened’, etc.

Purāne samay se, jab se ki hindī pady[(a)] ke likhe jāne kā patā lagtā hai (ek sahasr[(a)] varṣ pūrv[(a)]) tab se āj tak Cand, Dev, Sūr, Tul(a)sī, Nāg(a)rīdās, Hariścandr[(a)] ādi jitne kavi h u e un mẽ se aisā āj tak koī na h u ā jis ne apnī kavitā mẽ fārsī ar(a)bī śabdõ kā prayog na kiyā ho (Dās, Ś. S., p. (19), foot-note) ‘Among poets such as Cand, Dev, Sūr, Tulsī, Nāgarīdās, Hariścandra, and others who (ever) lived, as far as our knowledge of Hindī poetical works reaches since old times (one thousand years ago) up to this day, there was nobody who would not have used Persian and Arabic words in his poetry.’

Skūl mẽ kaisī paṛhāī h u ī, vah bād kī bāt hai. Pahle to yah h u ā ki Śekhar ko batāyā gayā, kuch dinõ mẽ Bhārat mẽ vāysrāy vahā̃ āne vāle haĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 88) ‘What the teaching at school was like (or: ‘what sort of classes were given at school’) will be mentioned later on. Before that, however, it happened that Śekhar was told the Viceroy of India was to come there in some days.’

dopahar mẽ gyārah baje Bhārat aur Siṅgāpur mẽ jal-polo kā maic h u ā (Kapūr, H., p. 17) ‘at 11.00 a. m. the match at water-polo between India and Singapur took place.’

Itnā kahkar vah lauṭne ko h u ā. - "Acchā, ṭhairo ..." - Vah ṭhair gayā (Kumār[1], p. 115) ‘When he had said that, he turned to go back. - "Well, wait ..." - He stopped.’

jo h u ā so h u ā (Prabhākar[4], p. 119; Gupt, p. 5) ‘whatever has happened has happened’ (‘what’s done is done’).

jo h o g a y ā so h o g a y ā (Sinh, Ś., p. 141) ‘whatever has happened has happened’ (‘what’s done is done’).

par jo h o g a y ā, vah h o g a y ā, choṛo is bāt ko (Varmā, Bh., p. 89) ‘but what’s done is done. Drop this.’

Beskrovnyj’s Dictionary gives the same phrase thus:

jo h u ā so h u ā что было, то было.[111] ‘what has been has heen’ (‘what was was’).

This translation is tenable: the examples given above in this paragraph show that the preterite *huā* may really mean either ‘(it) was’ or ‘(it) happened’.

The unmodified preterite *huā* often seems alternate with the modified form *ho gayā* without any noticeable difference in meaning. Still, a slight difference in meaning may appear:

Divālī kī pūjā samāpt h u ī. Khānā-pīnā h u ā. Ghar mẽ kaī dost-mitr[(a)] āye hue the, sab tāś khelne baiṭhe (Varmā, S.1, p. 18). The Divālī Pūjā *(worship of Lakshmī, the Goddess of wealth)* came to an end. People ate and drank. There were several friends present indoors, all sat down to have a game of cards.’ Here, S. Varmā seems to have chosen the unmodified verbs to point out the semantic content of the actions; not a single action is pointed out as a fact, as a whole.

Śadī ke bād apne pati ke ghar calī gaī. Bas calī gaī. Jīvan samāpt h o g a y ā. Harek ko aise hī jānā hai (Ajñey[1], p. 149) ’After the marriage, she went away to the place of her husband. She went away, that was all. The life came to an end. Everybody has to go this way.’ Here, the fact that the life came to an end is pointed out, the action is represented as a whole.[112]

2,8. The uses of the preterite as illustrated by the examples given in the above paragraphs (2,1-7) show that unmodified verbs are unmarked with regard to perfectiveness of the action: they have no inherent perfective-aspect meaning nor

[111] Beskrovnyj[2], p. 1219, s. v. *honā.*

[112] For more examples, see below, at no. 24,2.

do they preclude it and may denote it in certain contexts or situations. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are marked with regard to perfectiveness; they have taken the function of signifying perfectiveness from unmodified verbs and developed into a special category.[113] In view of this, one may *a priori* suppose that - in spite of Paul Hacker's assertion to the contrary[114] - modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are less frequent than their unmodified counterparts.

The preterite of unmodified verbs is most frequently used in phrases acknowledging the receipt of a letter etc.,[115] and in complimentary phrases expressing pleasure, joy, etc.[116] To get a provisional idea of the difference in frequency between the unmodified verbs and their modified counterparts with *jānā*, any short story or a chapter of a novel in Hindī may tentatively be examined. Thus, a short story by Jainendra Kumār[117] presents on 274 lines (95 mm. each) the preterite of unmodified intransitive verbs in 35 cases, that of unmodified transitive verbs in 36 cases, and that of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in 13 cases only. The first chapter of a novel by Premcand[118] has on 251 lines (105 mm. each) the preterite of unmodified intransitive verbs in 30 cases, that of unmodified transitive verbs in 33 cases, and that of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in 15 cases only. No doubt comprehensive statistics will modify these numbers. Anyhow, the fact that modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are less frequent than their unmodified counterparts can hardly be disproved.

2,91. Paul Hacker divides "compound verbs" with *jānā* into two groups: (a) *jānā* with intransitives; (b) *jānā* with transitives. He believes that, combined with the absolutive of intransitive verbs, *jānā* signifies "the category of process", and that the two actions are "absolutely simultaneous".[119] When, however, the absolutive of a transitive verb is used, then the basic meaning of the "compound verb" is "to go away after having done something".[120] In some cases, completeness of the action may be meant.[121]

Paul Hacker's observations are of some relevance to genetic considerations. But Paul Hacker has also noticed that, with intransitive verbs, the two notions of a "compound verb" fuse closely.[122] In reality, however, no "fusion of notions" takes place: the verb *jānā* simply loses its meaning of 'going', 'going away' and becomes a grammatical word[123] modifying the meaning of the simple absolutive of the main verb. The grammaticalization of the verb *jānā* does not depend upon the intransitiveness or transitiveness of the main verb:

[113] For the development of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* from absolutival constructions, see below, at no. 25,2.

[114] Cf. Hacker[4], p. 510: "Most intransitives expressing processes are much more frequently construed with *jānā* than with other auxiliary or without any auxiliary verbs."

[115] Cf. Śarma, Y., pp. 16, 18, 20, 23-26, etc., all in all, in 188 letters; a modified verbal expression is not used in any letter. See below, at no. 26,21.

[116] Cf. Śarma, Y. pp. 39, 44, 45, 47, etc., see below, at no. 26,23.

[117] Kumār[1], pp. 1-11.

[118] Premcand[1], pp. 5-12.

[119] Hacker[1], p. 27; cf. below, at no. 24,5, and foot-note 250. - Hacker[1], p. 26; cf. below, at no. 24,4, and foot-note 246.

[120] Hacker[1], p. 28; cf. below, at no. 24,6.

[121] Hacker[1], pp. 29 seq.; Hacker[1], p. 25; cf. below, at no. 24,3, and foot-note 227.

[122] Hacker[1], p. 27; cf. below, at no. 24,5, and foot-note 250.

[123] Cf. the grammaticalization of the verb *jānā* in the periphrastic (analytic) passive, see below, at no. 24,6.

lekin thoṛe din bād Śekhar j ā n g a y ā ki yah bhī ġalat hai (Ajñey[1], p. 135) 'but after a short time, Śekhar found out that this was wrong, too.'

gaū ne mũh se use pakaṛkar jhapaṭkar Śekhar ke hāth se chuṛā liyā, aur apnī baṛī-baṛī, bholī, bevaqūf ãkhõ se Śekhar kī or dekhtī huī k h ā g a ī (Ajñey[1], p. 129) 'the cow snapped at it (*at the notebook*) with her muzzle, snatched it from Śekhar's hand, and (*at a blow*) ate it all up, looking at Śekhar with her great, simple, silly eyes.'

Vīnā ne apne hāth se pān lagākar Lalit ko diyā. Lalit use prem se lekar k h ā g a y ā. Bolā - ... (Vyās, p. 44) 'Vīnā prepared betel with her hand and gave it to Lalit. Lalit took it with love and ate it up.'

thoṛī der bād Śekhar bhī piṭā, aur khūb piṭā. Lekin vah man-hī-man kahtā rahā, maĩ kutte kā pillā nahĩ hũ, maĩ cũ-cũ nahĩ kartā; aur mār k h ā g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 128) 'after a short while, Śekhar, too, was beaten, severely beaten. But he kept on saying in his mind, he was no puppy, he did not whine; and he got a drubbing.'

Here, by the unmodified verb *(piṭā)* rather the bearing upon the semantic content of the action is suggested; by the modified verbal expression (*mār khā gayā*) the action is pointed out as a fact, as a whole.

In interrogative sentences, modified verbal expressions are less frequent.[124] By the modified verbal expression, a particular feature (surprise, unpleasant surprise, etc.) is, as a rule, suggested:

yah tum kaise j ā n g a y e ? (Nāgārjun, p. 9) 'how did you find it out?;' a boy asks an old herdsman whose knowledge amazed him.

yah sab tum kahā̃ j ā n g a ī̃ ? (Miśra[1], p. 142) 'where did you learn all this?;' a young man asks a girl whose views are surprising.

Bihāri kā yah vaktṛtā Satyā(a) pacā nahĩ sakā ... Kahā - "Bihārī, yah lekcar denā kab se s ī k h g a y e?" (Kumār[4], pp. 69-70) »Satya was not able to digest this oratorical statement of Bihārī ... He said: "Since when did you learn to give lectures like this?"«

In these examples, the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* denote completed actions. Perfectiveness of the action is pointed out at the same time.

2,92. The same function is fulfilled by modified verbal expressions formed from intransitive verbs:

Śekhar us se kuch dūr jākar b a i ṭ h g a y ā, phir ghās mẽ l e ṭ g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 178) 'Śekhar went away from her to some distance and sat down, then he lay down into the grass.'

ghar mẽ kaī dost-mitr(a) āye hue the, sab tāś khelne b a i ṭ h e (Varmā, S.[1], p. 18) 'there were several friends present indoors, all sat down to have a game of cards.'

There cannot be any doubt that, in these two examples, the same action of 'sitting down' is expressed. At the same time, perfectiveness of the action is signified, unmarkedly in one case (*baiṭhe*), markedly in the other one (*baiṭh gayā*).[125] The action is not denoted as a process: the action of 'sitting down' is just as little (or as much) a process as the action of 'eating up' in the expression *khā gayā* 'he ate all up'. This must be taken into account when examining the function of *jānā.*

2,93. With verbs such as *ānā* 'to come', it is *a priori* unlikely that the idea of process involved in the semantic content of the verb needs to be explicated - though Paul Hacker believes to find this idea explicated in the "composition" with *jānā*.[126] In the preterite, again, perfectiveness of the action is denoted unmarkedly by the unmodified form, markedly by the modified form with *jānā:*

[124] Cf. below, at no. 26,1.

[125] For the terminology "action marked, or unmarked respectively, with regard to perfectiveness", see above, at no. 1,91.

[126] Hacker[1], p. 26; cf. below, at no. 24,4 and foot-note 246.

itne mẽ nīce se choṭe baccõ kī āvāz āī - "Māmū ā y e, māmū ā y e" (Varmā, S.[1], p. 18) »there the voice of little children was heard from below: "The uncle has come, the uncle has come."«

ye Basant ke pitā jī ā g a y e (Prabhākar[2], p. 49) 'Oh look, here the father of Basant comes' (lit., 'has come'); here, attention is drawn to the fact that the father has come, hence the modified verbal expression.

2,94. Sometimes, the unmodified form and its modified counterpart alternate in one and the same phrase:

qalam syāhī ke bharkar socne l a g ā. Kuch sūjhā nahĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 152) 'he dipped (his) pen in ink and began to think. Nothing occurred to him.'

aur phir vah socne l a g g a y ā ... Śām ko pitā daftar se lauṭe (Ajñey[1], p. 160) 'and, again, he began to think ... In the evening, his father came back from the office;' here the author, having mentioned the fact of thinking, does not give any particulars; with the next sentence, a new paragraph opens.

In the preterite of *lagnā* 'to begin to do something', the unmodified form is more frequent: *rone lagā* (Ajñey, p. 152) 'he began weeping;' *Vah apne se pūchne lagā* (ibid., p. 152) 'he began to ask himself;' *ek kavitā paṛhne lagā* (ibid., p. 156) 'he began reading a poem;' *gungunāne lagā* (ibid., p. 157) 'he began to sing to himself;' *hār rahe the, to lage cillāne* (Prabhākar[1], p. 30) 'you were losing, so you started to cry;' etc.

2,95. Thus, there cannot be any doubt that the grammaticalization of *jānā* does not depend upon the transitiveness or intransitiveness of the main verb. When, however, *jānā* is not grammaticalized and retains its meaning of 'going', 'going away', to some extent at least, then the function of the absolutive reappears and the meaning of the expression varies accordingly. This is, in particular, a frequent case with the absolutive of transitive verbs. Combinations of this sort are not always easy to analyse.[127]

2,96. The preterite may also denote a future action represented as already completed. This applies, in particular, to verbs of motion. At the same time, the sense of futurity is, as a rule, signified by an adverb or by an adverbial expression:

"Acchā, ab maĩ c a l ā." - 'Tanik ṭhahro to.' (Kumār[3], p. 107) "Well, I'm going. " -'Wait a minute.'

Suśīl - Mã̃, kambal lāo, kambal ... - Mã̃ - Abhī lāī, abhī (Prabhākar[4], pp. 120-121) »Suśīl: "Mother, bring a blanket, a blanket ... - Mother: "I'm bringing (it) at once, at once."«

2,97. The preterite often occurs in conditional clauses: it expresses an action that preceded, precedes, or may precede another action and is represented as condition of its realization. Both unmodified verbs and modified verbal expressions with *jānā* appear in this function:

tum na ā ī, to maĩ bahut-bahut nārāz hũ̃gī (Abbās[2], p. 98) 'if you don't come, I'll be very much, very much displeased.'

dekho b a n ā, to phir āũ̃gā (Kumār[3], p. 107) 'look, if I can manage it, I'll come again.'

jab kursī-mez biktī hai tab dukāndār kursī-mez se kuch nahĩ pūchtā, sirf kharīdār ko dikhlā detā hai. Pasand ā g a ī to acchā hai, varnā ... (Māthur, p. 116) 'when a chair or a table are (to be) sold, the shopkeeper does not discuss terms with the chair or the table (lit., does not ask the chair ...), he only shows (them) to the customer. If he likes (them), then it is all right, otherwise ...;' the modified verbal expression is used to point out the realization of the action as contrasting with the unmentioned idea suggested by the adverb 'otherwise'.

3,1. The perfect[128] most frequently denotes a present state resulting from a completed action. This meaning usually clearly contrasts with that of the preterite:

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[127] Cf. below, at nos. 25,2; 25,4-6.

[128] *āsann$^{(a)}$ bhūt(kāl):* Guru, pp. 350, 365, etc.; Greaves, pp. 208, 492. - Present Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 234, 237, etc.; Greaves, pp. 208, 492, etc.; Scholberg, pp. 81, 84, 87, etc.; Sharma, A., pp.

ghar mẽ kaī dost-mitr[(a)] āye hue the, sab tāś khelne b a i ṭ h e (Varmā, S.[1], p. 18) 'there were several friends present indoors, all sat down to have a game of cards;' preterite: a completed action denoted.

klāsrūm mẽ kuch bacce b a i ṭ h e h a ī (Prabhākar[3], p. 8) 'there are some children sitting in the classroom;' perfect: a state denoted that may be supposed to have resulted from a preceding action.

3,2. A resulting state is different from the state existing (or imagined to exist) independently of an action. Such a 'self-existent' state is expressed by the 2nd (perfective, past) participle in the predicate with the copula *hũ, hai,* etc. In form, this combination does not differ from the perfect. But there is a difference in meaning: no bearing upon any preceding action is indicated. In this case, the participle may take its strengthened form (with *huā, huī, hue)*. Then, the combination differs from the perfect even in its form.

mujhe bhūkh l a g ī h a i (Śāstrī, p. 17) 'I am hungry;' resulting state: hunger has appeared.

maidān mẽ choṭī-choṭī ghās l a g ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 349) 'on the maidān *(parade-ground),* there is small grass;' no resulting state meant.

bāĩ or dīvār ke sāth ek baṛī mez l a g ī h u ī h a i (Aśk[1], p. 39) 'on the left, there is (or: is placed) a large table along the wall;' description of a state irrespective of a precedent action.'

saṛkõ tak par do-do hāth pānī ā y ā h u ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 68) 'even in the streets, there is water two cubits high' (*at an inundation*).

In this function, even the 2nd (perfective, past) participle of the modified verbal expression with *jānā* may be used.[129]

3,3. Sometimes, the idea of a resulting state recedes and the action itself comes rather to the fore. The action is presented as completed within the time-sphere that lasts at the moment of speaking. By this bearing upon the present time, the perfect contrasts with the preterite:

Dev(a)dās gāṛī chūṭne ke bād pleṭfārm par ā y ā (Gupt, p. 5) 'Devadās arrived on the platform when the train had (already) started;' the preterite: no bearing upon the present time (upon the moment of speaking expressed).

maĩ to abhī kẖabar pākar ā y ā h ũ (Gupt, p. 4.) 'I have got news of it just now and have come (here immediately);' the perfect: bearing upon the present time (upon the moment of speaking) expressed.

baire ne gilās sāmne lākar r a k k h ā (Abbās, p. 36) 'the bearer brought a glass and placed it in front (of him);' the preterite: no bearing upon the present time (upon the moment of speaking) expressed.

kahã̃ gayā yah kambakẖt bholā? āj haḍḍī-paslī toṛũgā. Cārõ tar(a)f daliddar lā r a k k h ā h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 355) 'where's the poor fellow gone to? Today, I'll break his bones. He's made havoc all round;' the perfect: bearing upon the present time (upon the moment of speaking) expressed.

When the idea of the present state obtains, the 2nd (perfective, past) participle with the copula is employed:

khāne kī cīz sāmne r a k h ī h a i aur maĩ do din se bhūkhā baiṭhā hũ̃ (Premcand[3], p. 7) 'there is food in front (of me), and I am waiting (for it) hungry since two days', lit. 'a thing to eat is placed in front, and I am sitting ...;' said by a tiger lying in wait for a boy sitting on a tree; description of a state irrespective of a precedent action: 'is placed' = 'there is'.

59, 69; Sharma, S., p. 158; Bailey[2], p. 16; Bailey[3], p. 45; Harley, p. 18. - Perfect: Tisdall, pp. 108 seqq. - Perfekt: Lienhard, pp. 174 seqq.; Spies, pp. 44, 119. - Перфект (настоящее совершенное): Beskrovnyj[1], p. 88. - Настоящее совершенное (перфект): Katenina[1], p. 1325; Dymšic[1], p. 68; Dymšic[2], p. 1082. - Настоящее совершенное: Barannikov[1], p. 91; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1278; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 798; Katenina[1], p. 63. - Dokonavý čas přítomný, Present perfect: Pořízka[1], p. 212; cf. also the conspectus of verb-forms added to this treatise.

[129] See below, at nos. 18,3-4.

darvāze ke pās kināre-kināre kursiyā̃ r a k h ī h u ī h a ĩ (Bhaṭṭ, p. 59) 'aside at the door are (lit. 'are placed') chairs;' description of a state irrespective of a precedent action.

3,4. Some scholars regard the term "resultativeness" as synonymous with "perfectiveness", and apply it to the perfective verbal aspect.[130] Others, on the other hand, employ the term "resultative" with reference to a certain type of perfect tense. Thus, de Vreese mentions three types of perfect tense: (a) the perfect expressive of the completed action seen from the moment of speaking; (b) the "resultative" perfect: *āyā hai* 'he has come'; (c) the "stative" perfect: *baiṭhā hai* 'he is sitting' = 'is seated'.[131]

Thus, the meaning of perfectiveness and that of the perfect tense can easily be confused.[132] T. G. Bailey even goes as far as to paraphrase the preterite of the "compound verbs" with *jānā* by the combination of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle used predicatively with the copula. He says:

"Owing to the emphasis on reaching a final state, we usually find that the state can also be expressed by the past participle with *huā.* Thus to take verbs from the list below, we may say: *vah leṭ gayā* he lay down - *therefore, leṭā huā hai,* he is lying down (resting). *vah baiṭh gayā,* he sat down - *therefore, baiṭhā huā hai,* he is now seated. *pānī khaul gayā,* the water came to the boil - *therefore, pānī khaulā huā hai,* the water is in the state of having been boiled, it is boiled water."[133]

Such explanations are misleading. The preterite of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* does not indicate any resulting state: it just points out the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final, resultant stage.[134] Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are a particular category different from both the perfect tense and the combination of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle used predicatively with the copula.

3,5. As to the aspectual meaning, the perfect has a particular place in the system of aspectual contrasts. This has been shown by Yu. Maslov, though in broad lines only. He says, in substance, this:[135] The perfect of West European languages must be translated into Slavonic languages by perfective verbs, or by imperfective ones; the choice depends upon the context. The Old Slavonic analytic perfect is formed not only from perfective verbs, but also from imperfective verbs.[136] In view of this fact, it is impossible to apply to the perfect the formulation accepted for the perfectiveness. This obtains for both the "perfect of state" (перфект состояния) and for the "perfect of action" (перфект действия). Thus, it is necessary to search for another, special formulation applicable to the perfect aspect (Maslov has the term перфектный вид denoting the verbal aspect as signified by the perfect).

Maslov's conclusion is supported by the fact that, in Hindī, the perfect is formed not only from unmodified verbs, but also from their modified counterparts.

3,6. The perfect of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* most often denotes an action as completed within the time-sphere that lasts at the moment of speaking.[137]

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[130] Cf. Kopečný[2], p. 100, foot-note 25: "Termíny výsledkovost (rezultativnost) a uzavřenost, celkovost (méně vhodně "komplexnost") lze dobře chápat synonymně."

[131] Cf. de Vreese, p. 210.

[132] Cf. below, at no. 27,5.

[133] Bailey[3], p. 72; transcription of Hindī words modified to agree with that used in this paper.

[134] Cf. above, at nos. 1,92; 2,4; etc.

[135] Maslov[1], p. 31.

[136] Cf. Dostál, pp. 603-609.

[137] Cf. above, at no. 3,3.

Sometimes, however, the bearing upon the present time recedes and the difference between the perfect and the preterite is wiped off. This applies to both modified verbal expressions and unmodified verbs:

koī ġarīb ādmī apnī īmāndārī mere pās girvī rakhkar paise l e g a y ā h a i (Prabhākar[1], p. 37) 'some poor fellow has taken the money away and left me his honesty as a pledge;' no bearing upon the present time (upon the moment of speaking) expressed; the verb *le jānā* 'to take away' is not marked with regard to perfectiveness, cf. above, at no. 1,92.

lekin acānak yah māmlā ā g a y ā h a i (Kumār[5], p. 139) 'but suddenly, this affaire has come;' sudden, unexpected action.

āp to bilkul acānak ā g a ī h a ĩ (Kumār[5], p. 24) 'you have come quite unexpectedly;' sudden, unexpected action.

jān paṛtā hai ki Aśok ā g a y ā ... Aśok ā g a y ā h a i ? Kahā̃ hai? (Prabhākar[4], p. 64) 'it seems that Aśok has come ... Has Aśok come? Where is he?' Modified verbal expression denoting an action that attracted attention; the same action signified first by the preterite, then by the perfect.

"Kab ā ĩ, jījī ?" ..." ... Are, kal hī to ā ī h ũ̃ ..." (Prabhākar[6] p. 31) "When did you come, Jījī (*a term of respect, applied to an elder sister, or to any elderly woman*)?" ... "...Oh, I came (already) yesterday."« The same action signified first by the preterite, then by the perfect; bearing upon the moment of speaking not expressed, unless the statement is construed in the sense 'I am here since yesterday.'

Sudhā: Kaun, oh āp ... tum ... tum ā y e h o ! - Harīś: hā̃, maĩ ... acraj hotā hai (Prabhākar[7], p. 153-154) »Sudhā: "Who (is), oh you ... you ... you have come!" - Harīś: "Yes, I ... You are astonished."« Unmodified verb used to denote an action exciting surprise.[138]

suno, Sarasvatī ke laṛkī h u ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 162) 'Listen, Sarasvatī gave birth to a girl.'

Śekhar, tumhārī ek aur bahin h o g a y ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 136) 'Śekhar, you have got another sister.'[139]

Sarasvatī kā patr[(a)] āyā - laṛkī m a r g a ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 163) 'a letter of Sarasvatī came - the girl had died.'

3,7. The same rules apply to the perfect of transitve verbs. They are, however, less frequently used to form modified verbal expressions.

rāt bīt rahī hai, sac kyā rāt bīt rahī haī? Bhante, āp ne kitnī sundar bāt k a h ī hai. Rāt bītī hai, tabhī prabhāt hotā hai (Prabhākar[4], p. 24) 'the night is passing away, is it true that the night is passing away? Your Reverence, how beautiful thing you have said! The night is passing away, then the day is breaking.'

āj maĩ apnī bhūl j ā n g a y ā h ũ̃ (Ajñey[1], p. 34) 'today I have found out my error.'

maĩ bahut kuch s ī k h g a ī h ũ̃ (Nehrū, M., p. 459) 'I have learnt a lot of things.'

3,8. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may also be employed to denote a state:

din bahut thoṛe r a h g a y e h a ĩ - maĩ ne kuch paṛhā nahĩ̃ (Ajñey[1], p. 180) 'there is a very short time left (lit., 'has remained'), and I did not learn anything.'

āp ab bahut t h a k g a y e h a ĩ, viśrām kariye (Prabhākar[5], p. 75) 'now you are very tired (lit., 'you have got tired'), please take a rest.'

itne b a d a l g a y e h a ĩ ki pahcāne bhī nahĩ̃ jāte (Prabhākar[4], p. 91) 'he has changed to such a degree that one cannot even recognize him.'

The idea of a state comes to the fore in a description:

ek din Saīd ne svapn[(a)] mẽ dekhā ki vah būṛhā h o g a y ā h a i aur us kī kamar j h u k g a ī h a i ... aur ā̃khõ mẽ yauvan kī jyoti ke sthān mẽ buṛhāpe kī udāsīn(a)tā ā g a ī h a i (Sudarśan, p. 85) 'one day Saīd dreamt that he had become old and his back was bent ... and in (his) eyes instead of a youthful gleam was (lit., 'had come') the apathy of old age."

[138] Cf. modified verbal expressions as discussed below, at no. 27,932.

[139] Cf. below, at no. 26,22.

3,91. The perfect may also denote a past action as multiplied (repeated), i.e. as a series of completed actions, when repetition of the action is given by the context or situation.[140] At the same time, the series itself is conceived as completed as well. Repetition of the action is, as a rule, also expressed lexically in the same sentence, by an adverb or adverbial expression:[141]

mujhe sadā inhõ ne māyā-mam(a)tā mẽ phãsī huī kahkar k o s ā h a i. Sadā merī nindā k ī h a i (Prabhākar[10], p. 150) 'he has always abused me saying that I am obsessed with delusion and egoism. He has always slandered me.'

3,92. The perfect tense may also denote a future action represented as already completed. This applies, in particular, to verbs of motion. At the same time, the sense of futurity may be signified by an adverb or by an adverbial expression; otherwise it is evident from the context or from the situation. In this function, the perfect may alternate with the present tense. When a modified verbal expression with *jānā* is used, the action is pointed out as a whole:

ḍākṭar - "Acchā, ṭhahro, maĩ ātā hũ̃ ... Ghabrāo nahĩ̃, ghabrāo nahĩ̃, maĩ ā g a y ā h ũ̃. Bahut dūr to nahĩ̃ jānā hai ... Maĩ aise hī calũ̃gā (Prabhākar[4], p. 30) »the doctor: "Well, wait, I shan't be long (lit., I am coming). ... Don't get alarmed, don't get alarmed, I'm coming (lit. I have come). After all, it is no long way to go ... I'll walk."« Attention focused on the realization of the action.

4,1. The functions of the past perfect[142] are for the most part analogous to those of the perfect. The main difference consists in the fact that, in the past perfect, reference to a definite past time is generally implied. When the idea of a state in the past obtains, the 2nd (perfective, past) participle is used in the predicate with the copula *thā, thī, the.* Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are used, too, under similar rules as those applying to the perfect.

4,2. The same form may convey the idea of an action in one instance, and that of a state in another one. The sense often depends upon the context or situation:

us se pūchā nahĩ̃ ki vah kahã̃ g a y ā t h ā, kyõ g a y ā t h ā (Ajñey[1], p. 154) 'nobody asked him where he had gone, why he had gone' ('where he had been, why he had left his home'); in the first case the idea of the state ('he was off'), in the other one the idea of the action ('why he had done so') prevails.

ek din sās ke kahne par maĩ un ke pās g a ī t h ī (Aśk, p. 53) 'once, having been asked by (my) mother-in-law, I went to his place, i.e. 'I went to see him;' the idea of the action prevails.

Kam(a)lā ke mātā-pitā ghar par na the. Ve kahĩ̃ g a y e t h e, Kam(a)lā akelī thī (Varmā, Bh., p. 70) 'Kamalā's parents were not at home. They had gone somewhere (they were off), Kamalā was alone;' the idea of the state prevails.

guḍ īvniṅg caudh(a)rī sāhab! Abhī cāy pīne b a i ṭ h ā h ī t h ā. Baṛe mauqe se āye (Varmā, Bh., p. 126) 'good evening, Chaudhrī! I have just sat down to have (a cup of) tea. You have come at a very opportune time;' the idea of the action prevails.

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[140] Compare similar use with the preterite, see above, at no. 2,2.

[141] In English, the present perfect tense is used in similar way, cf. e. g., Ivanova, p. 117.

[142] *Pūrṇ[(a)] bhūt(kāl):* Guru, pp. 350, 366, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492. - Past Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 234, 238, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492, etc.; Scholberg, pp. 81, 84, 87, etc.; Sharma, A., pp. 59, 71 seq.; Sharma, S., p. 162; Harley p. 18. - Past Perfect or Pluperfect: Bailey[2], p. 16. - Pluperfect: Bailey[3], p. 46; Tisdall, pp. 109 seq. - Plusquamperfect: Lienhard, pp. 185 seqq.; Spies, pp. 45, 119. - Плюсквамперфект: Beskrovnyj[1], p. 88. - Давнопрошедшее время: Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1278; Beskrovnyj[4] pp. 792, 798. - Предпрошедшее время: Barannikov[1], p. 92; Katenina[1], p. 63; Katenina[2], p. 1326, Dymšic[1], p. 69; Dymšic[2], p. 1083. - Dokonavý čas minulý, Past Perfect: Pořízka[1], p. 212; cf. also the conspectus of verb-forms added to this treatise.

ek din sandhyā ke samay Vijayā akelī b a i ṭ h ī t h ī (Jośī, p. 193) ‘one day in the evening, Vijayā was sitting alone;’ the idea of the state prevails.

4,3. When the idea of a state in the past obtains, the 2nd (perfective, past) participle may be employed in the predicate with the copula *thā, thī, the:*

ghar mẽ kaī dost-mitr[(a)] ā y e h u e t h e (Varmā, S[1], p. 18) ‘there were some friends present (*were gathered*) indoors.’

mā̃ ke atirikt sab log bāhar g a y e h u e t h e (Ajñey[1] p. 118) ‘all except for the mother were outdoors’ (*had gone outdoors*).

Mukund kahī̃ kām se g a y ā h u ā t h ā (Jośī, p. 193) ‘Mukund had gone somewhere about his business’ (*Mukund was off*).

sāmne vṛkṣ par ek mor b a i ṭ h ā h u ā t h ā (Premcand[1], p. 81) ‘in front, a peacock was sitting on a tree’.

4,4. When rather the idea of the action obtains, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are often used. Thus, in particular, when the realization of the action is pointed out:

(pitā jī) daftar se nahī̃ ā y e ... Kal to ā g a y e t h e (Prabhākar[2], p. 73) ‘(the father) has not come back from the office ... But yesterday he had come;’ there is a contrast between the content of these two sentences.

Par ek din ... Śār(a)dā ne use dekhā thā, aur dabe pā̃v pās ākar, kitābõ kā bastā us kī pīṭh par rakh diyā thā. Aur vah caũk uṭhā thā, j h ẽ p g a y ā t h ā, phir ekāek sāhas se b h a r g a y ā t h ā (Ajñey[1], p. 171) ‘But one day ... Śāradā saw him, came near (to him) furtively, (and) put (her) bundle of books on his back. And he was startled and ashamed, (but) then, all of a sudden, he was filled with courage;’ suddenness of the actions expressed.

par Sarasvatī paṛhne mẽ l a g g a ī t h ī, aur Candr[(a)] mā̃ ke pās śikāyat karne calā gayā thā; us kī bāt kisī ne nahī̃ sunī (Ajñey[1], p. 141) ‘but Sarasvatī became absorbed in reading and Candra went away to complain to (his) mother; nobody paid heed to his (*scil. Śekhar’s*) words;’ the action is pointed out as being contrary to Śekhar’s expectation.

us samay us kā cehrā ūpar ko uṭh jātā hai aur nāk par rakhā huā sone kī rim vālā caśmā dīkhtā hai. Bāp-beṭe caũk uṭhte haĩ.

Gopālprasād aur Śaṅkar - "Caśmā!!"

Rāmsvarūp (zarā sakpakākar) - ‘Jī, vah to ... vah ... pichle mahīne is kī ā̃khẽ dukhnī ā g a ī t h ī̃, so kuch dinõ ke lie caśmā lagānā paṛ rahā hai. ’

Gopālprasād - "Paṛhāī-vaṛhāī kī vajah se to nahī̃ hai kuch?"

Rāmsvarūp - ‘Nahī̃, sāhab ...’ (Māthur, p. 114)

»At that moment she raises her face and one can see spectacles with gold rim on her nose. The father and (his) son are startled.

Gopālprasād and Śankar: "Spectacles!!"

Rāmsvarūp (somewhat embarrassed): ‘Yes, in fact, she ... she ... last month, her eyes (suddenly) started aching, so she must wear spectacles for some time.’

Gopālprasād: "So (her) studies are not the cause of it?"

Rāmsvarūp: ‘No, Sir ...’«

The modified verbal expression is used to point out the realization of the action: the speaker tries to give the impression that the action occurred suddenly, unexpectedly.

4,5. But even a modified verbal expression with *jānā* may be used to denote a state:[143]

us kī kamar j h u k g a ī t h ī, us ke sir ke, dāṛhī ke aur mūchõ ke bāl safed ho cuke the (Sudarśan, p. 85) ‘(the old fakir’s) back was bent (and) his hair, his beard and moustache were (already) white.’

[143] Compare a similar meaning with the perfect, see above, at no. 3,8.

pretātmā kī tarah tumhārā mukh dekhā. Gālõ kī haḍḍiyā̃ bāhar ko n i k a l g a ī t h ī̃; ā̃khẽ nīce d h ā̃ s g a ī t h ī̃, tailhīn, bikhre hue bālõ se cehrā thoṛā-bahut ḍ h a k s ā g a y ā t h ā (Jośī, p. 2) 'I gazed at your face as though (I were looking) at a ghost. High cheek-bones, sunken eyes, the face almost covered with tousled, unoiled hair,' lit., '... the cheek-bones had stood out, the eyes had sunk down, the face had been almost covered ... '

4,6. The past perfect tense usually refers the completed action (or the resulting state) to a definite time in the past. This may be the recent past, or a distant past, or a long period of time. When the time is not specified, it is evident from the context or from the situation. When specified by an adverb such as *abhī* 'just now', it refers to the time immediately preceding the moment of speaking:

Māsṭar - "... Tum paṛosī kā matlab to jānte hī ho."
Nirmalā - 'Jī hā̃, vah to āp ne a b h ī b a t ā y ā t h ā. Munnū hamārā paṛosī hai' (Prabhākar[3], p. 9)
Teacher: " ... You know what the meaning of 'neighbour' is, don't you."
Nirmalā: "Yes, Sir, you have just explained it. Munnū is our neighbour."

sāyog se maĩ yahā̃ mā̃ ke pās ā ī t h ī. āp kā nām sunkar ā gaī (Nehrū, M., p. 454) 'I chanced to come here to see (my) mother. Having heard your name, I came (to attend your lecture).'

Kyõ beṭā, kyā h u ā t h ā ? Tum to us ke sāth the na? (Gupt, p. 5) 'Well, sonny, what, happened? You were with him (with Devadās in the train), weren't you?'

us din Śār(a)dā ko kyā h u ā t h ā ? Vah kyõ r o ī t h ī ? (Ajñey[1], p. 180) 'what happened to Śāradā on that day? Why did she weep?'

ek varṣ pahle unhẽ bahut tīvr[(a)] jvar ā y ā t h ā. Us samay unhõ ne pahlī bār pralāp kiyā (Prabhākar[4], p. 31) 'a year ago, he had got a very high fever. At that time, he was delirious for the first time.'

apne jīvan mẽ use aisī latāṛ na m i l ī t h ī (Premcand[1], p. 119) 'in his life, he never experienced an insult like this.'

4,7. When implying temporal relation to another past action, the past perfect indicates antecedence, less often simultaneity of the action or state. In either case, the verb may take either its unmodified form, or the modified form with *jānā*:

jab un kī nī̃d khulī tab saberā h o c u k ā t h ā (Sinh, Ś., p. 39) 'when he awoke, it was morning already.'

sīdhe usī dukān par pahũcī jahā̃ se kapṛā k̲ h̲ a r ī d ā t h ā (Prabhākar[1], p. 34) 'she went straight to the shop where she had purchased the material.'

jitnī dūr maĩ pīche h a ṭ g a y ā t h ā, utnā hī vah āge baṛh āyā aur phir baiṭh gayā (Premcand[3], p. 34) 'as much as I went backwards, just so much (the tiger) moved forward, and sat down again.'

cāy kā pyālā maĩ ne hõṭhõ se l a g ā y ā h ī t h ā ki mujhe moṭar ka hārn sunāī paṛā (Varmā, Bh., p. 126) 'I had just put the cup of tea to my lips when I heard the horn of a car;' simultaneity, or at least, immediate sequence of actions expressed.

jis samay pratham hī us rājarṣi ne is ko sneh kī dṛṣṭi se dekhā, maĩ j ā n g a ī t h ī ki us kā bhī man is par āsakt huā (Sinh, L., p. 39) 'when the king had cast a glance of love at her for the first time, I found out that his heart, too, had got fond of her;' simultaneity, or at least, immediate sequence of actions expressed.

5,1. The 3rd future tense[144] mostly denotes a supposed present state as resulting from an action that presumably took place in the past. Occasionally, a supposed past state, or a past action itself is indicated.

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[144] *Sandigdh[(a)] bhūt(kāl):* Guru, pp. 350, 366, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Sharma, S., p. 163. - Presumptive Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 235, 244, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 81 85, 87; Sharma, S., p. 163; - Past Presumptive: Sharma, A., p. 77. Future Perfect: Harley p. 14. - Future Perfect or Past Presumptive: Bailey[3] p. 46. Future Perfect or 'Doubtful Past': Tisdall, pp. 109, 111. - Zweites Futur: Spies, pp. 114, 119. - Будущее III: Barannikov[1], p. 90; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1277; Beskrovnyj[3], pp. 792 797; Dymšic[1], p. 72; Dymšic[2], pp. 1077, 1087 seq. - Совершенная форма положительного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 64; Katenina[2], p. 1327. - Futurum III. (dokonavé), Third or Perfect Future: Pořízka[1], p. 357; cf. also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

āp ko bhī zarūr bhūkh l a g ī h o g ī (Sinh, G., p. 102) ‘certainly, you must feel hungry, too;’ state expressed.

tumhẽ bāhar kī kẖab(a)rẽ kyā m i l ī h õ g ī ! (Premcand[5], p. 10) ‘(here in prison) how could you have news from outside!,’ lit., ‘how will you have got news,’ or, ‘how will news have reached you.’

Śekhar socne lagā ki us samay un ke man par kyā b ī t ī h o g ī (Ajñey[2], p. 158) ‘Śekhar began to think of what must have suffered his (i.e. *father's)* heart at that time,’ lit., ’what (pain) must have befallen his heart;’ action that presumably took place in the past.

5,2. In this tense, too, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are of rather frequent occurence:

hamẽ viśvās hai ki hamārā vah patr[(a)] āp ko m i l g a y ā h o g ā (Śarma Y., p. 374) ‘we trust you have received that letter of ours;’ realization of the action pointed out.

ghūmte-ghūmte tum t h a k g a y e h o g e (Jain[1], p. 65) ‘you must have got tired strolling (for a long time),’ or ‘I suppose you are tired...

rājkumār Mahendr[(a)] aur bhikṣu Up(a)gupt bhī p a h ũ c g a y e h õ g e. Āp calẽ ... (Prabhākar[5], p. 79) ‘no doubt prince Mahendra and bhikṣu (*Buddhist monk*) Upagupt have arrived (already), too. Please, go ...; ’ realization of the action pointed out.

5,3. Sometimes a combination identical, in form, with the 3rd future, denotes a future state. But, what seems to be a tense, is, in reality, the 2nd (perfective, past) participle in the predicate with the copula *hữgā, hogā,* etc. Here, the participle may appear in its strengthened form, too (with *huā, huī, hue).* Then the combination cannot be mistaken for the 3rd future.

rāj(a)kīy[(a)] savārī mẽ chah ghoṛe j u t e h õ g e (NBhT[3], p. l) ‘six horses will be put to the state coach (*of the president of India*);’ here, the strengthened form *jute hue* could be used.

6,1. The 3rd subjunctive[145] often denotes a possible action mentally apprehended as completed in the past. It may also signify a possible state as resulting from a completed action that may have preceded.

Adhyāpak ne pūchā - Kyā āj Amarkānt nahĩ āyā?

Ek laṛke ne kahā - Āye to the, śāyad bāhar c a l e g a y e h õ (Premcand[2], p. 6) »The teacher asked: "Today Amarkānt has not come?"

A boy said: ‘He has come, may be he is out of doors,’ lit., ‘he may have gone away out of doors.’«

vah apne jīvan mẽ śāyad kabhī r o y ā h o (Premcand[2], p. 7) ‘he scarcely ever wept in his life.’

"Yah kaun hai?" - ‘Merā laṛkā - Purassĩh.’ Śāyad Puruṣsĩh vah ṭhīk na b o l s a k ā h o (Kumār[5], p. 195) »"Who is this? " - ‘My boy, Purassinh.’ Perhaps he was not able to pronounce Puruṣsinh correctly.«

āp logõ ne yadi merī tīn varṣ pahle kī kavitāẽ p a ṛ h ī h õ, to āp samajh sakẽge ki maĩ ne kis tanmay(a)tā ke sāth prem kiyā (Varmā, Bh., p. 69) ‘if you have read my poetry (written) three years ago, you will be able to understand how I was absorbed in love.’

6,2. In the 3rd subjunctive, again, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are of rather frequent occurrence:

jaise sẽp par pair p a ṛ g a y ā h o ! Sab sihar uṭhĩ (Prabhākar[6], p. 34) ‘as if they had trodden on a snake! All of them (suddenly) trembled;’ a sudden, unexpected action expressed.

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[145] *Sambhāvy[(a)] bhūt(kāl)*: Guru, pp. 350, 366, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492. *Sambhāvy[(a)] pūrṇ[(a)] vart(a)mān*: Sharma, S. p. 160. - Contingent Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 235, 244, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 81, 84, 87, etc.; Sharma, S., p. 160. - Kontingentes Perfekt: Spies, pp. 113, 119. - Past Potential: Sharma, A., p. 75: - Subjunctive Perfect: Harley, p. 14. - Present Perfect Subjunctive or Conditional: Bailey[3], p. 48. - Настоящее совершенное время сослагательного наклонения: Barannikov[1], p. 93; Barannikov[2], p. 1273, 1278; Beskrovnyj[3], pp. 792, 798. - Совершенная форма сослагательного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 64; Katenina[2], p. 1327. Сложная совершенная форма сослагательного наклонения: Dymšic[1], p. 77; Dymšic[2], p. 1094. - Subjunktiv III. (dokonavý), Third or Perfect Subjunctive: Pořízka[1], p. 355; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

aur jab kaī din tak kuch na hotā, tab vah dūsrā patr(a) likhtā aur dūsrī takhtī ke sāth bhejtā ki kahī pahlā ḍ ū b n a g a y ā h o ... (Ajñey[1], p. 113) 'and when nothing happened several days, he (always) wrote another letter and sent it with another small plank (for fear) that the former letter might have sunk.'

7,1. The 3rd conditional[146] and the 3rd habitual are equal in form, but have different functions. The habitual has an indicative meaning and denotes a completed action as repeated or habitual in the past; it may as well indicate a state as usually resulting from a completed action repeated in the past.

V. M. Beskrovnyj has observed that the simple absolutive of a main verb used with *rahā hotā* may form a combination conveying an indicative meaning. He takes *rahā* as a predicative participle and *hotā* as a "non-standard copula".[147]

In reality, the combination *rahā hotā* represents a compound tense identical with the conditional in form, but conveying an indicative meaning, scil. the meaning of the 3rd habitual. It may be added to the simple absolutive of a main verb to fulfil special functions analogous to those signified by *rahā hũ* etc. in similar combinations.[148]

Discussing the uses of the "iterative imperfect", i.e. of the 1st habitual, de Vreese mentions that it is impossible to evaluate the iterative imperfect correctly when the context is not known.[149] This applies to the 2nd and 3rd habitual as well.

Another characteristic feature is that, in the same context, different forms of habituals are often found. Thus, e.g., the 1st and 3rd habituals in these examples: *vah ā t e, to k a h t e, "Kaho ḍiyar, vah kitāb tum ne paṛhī? Acchī lagī?"*

Patnī k a h t ī, "Hã̃, acchī lagī." ... Aur vah cale j ā t e.

Un ke cale jāne par vah u ṭ h t ī. Jis kitāb ko unhõ ne k a h ā h o t ā, use khĩ̃ckar bistar par aũdhī p a ṭ a k d e t ī, aur kamre mẽ idhar-udhar ṭ a h a l t ī (Kumār[5], pp. 85-86.)

»(Whenever) he came (from his office), he (usually) said: "Say, dear, did you read that book? Did you like it?"

(His) wife (always) said: "Yes, I liked it." ... And he (usually) went away. When he had gone away, she (usually) rose, took out the book mentioned by him, threw it on the bed with the back up, and walked to and fro in the room.«

Here, by the 3rd habitual, a past repeated action is expressed; at the same time, antecedence of the action is implied.

isīsan tak sāmān mujhe hī pahũcānā p a ṛ t ā ... Uṭhte-baiṭhte kisī tarah maĩ p a h ũ c t ā. Gardan ṭ ū ṭ j ā t ī. Pasīne se sārī deh tar ho-ho kar s ū k h c u k ī h o t ī (Nāgārjun, p. 10) 'I had (always) to carry the luggage (of my master) to the station ... I took a rest every now and then and usually arrived there (lit., 'while rising and sitting down I arrived') somehow or other. My neck was (always) as it were broken (lit., 'neck broke'). (My) body, all dripping with sweat before, was (usually) dry already (by that time).'

Here, by the 3rd habitual, a past state is denoted as usually resulting from a completed action repeated in the past: 'was usually dry already,' lit., 'had (usually) dried up already.'

7,2. The 3rd conditional denotes a past action as unrealized or unrealizable, or signifies unreality of a state imagined as resulting from such an action:

[146] *Pūrṇ(a) saṅketārth*: Guru, pp. 350, 367. - *Pūrṇ(a) hetuhetumadbhūt:* Greaves, pp. 209, 492. - *Sambhāvy(a) pūrṇ(a) bhūt:* Sharma, S., p. 165. - Past Contingent Perfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 235, 244, etc.; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 81, 85, 88; Sharma, S., pp. 165, 168. - Past Contingent: Sharma, A., p. 77. - Pluperfect Conditional or Subjunctive: Bailey[3], p. 48. - Past Conditional: Tisdall, p. 116. - Irreales Konditional-Perfect: Spies, pp. 114, 119. - Настоящее совершенное время условного наклонения: Barannikov[1], p. 96; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1280; Beskrovnyj[3], p. 792, 799. - Совершенная форма условного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 65; Katenina[2], p. 1328. - Сложная совершенная форма условного наклонения: Dymšic[1], p. 78; Dymšic[2], p. 1096. - Kondicionál III. (dokonavý), Third or Perfect Conditional: Pořízka[1], p. 335; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[147] Beskrovnyj[1], p. 100: Нестандартная связка *hotā.*

[148] See below, at nos. 8,2 (present), 12,3 (habitual I).

[149] De Vreese, p. 205.

Premcand ne yadi kahānī choṛkar aur kuch na l i k h ā h o t ā, to bhī viśv(a)-sāhity(a) mẽ un kā sthān surakṣit rahtā (Cauhān, p. 99) 'even if Premcand, apart from (his) short stories, had not written anything else, his place in the world-literature would be established.'

yadi merā vivāh na h u ā h o t ā aur mujhe jīvan kā ek sāthī cunne kī yahā̃ ijāzat mil jātī, to maĩ kis ko cuntā, jāntī ho? (Sinh., Ś., p. 72) 'if I were not married (lit., 'if my wedding had not taken place') and if I had the possibility of choosing a consort, do you know whom I should choose?' The 3rd conditional used to denote unreality of a state.

7,3. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the 3rd conditional:

ḍāktar sāhab agar zevar chīn lete, to bhūkhī m a r g a ī h o t ī (Nehrū M., p. 459) 'had the doctor taken back the jewels (I had received from him), I should have died of hunger;' unrealized action in the past expressed.

kāś yah k̲hat Dehrādūn mẽ m i l g a y ā h o t ā, to maĩ āp logõ kī hamrāhī mẽ Mãsūrī kī sair kar letā (Premcand[4], p. 43) 'if only this letter had reached me (lit., 'had come to me') in Dehrādūn! I should have made an excursion to Mussoorie in your company;' unrealized action in the past expressed.

8,1. The present tense[150] often signifies a really present action: it denotes an action as in progress at the moment of speaking (actual present). This obtains, when the actual progress of the action is, at the same time, evident from the context or from the situation. In fact the capacity of denoting an actual present action is not inherent in the present-tense form of unmodified verbs, in other words, the present of unmodified verbs is unmarked with regard to actual progress of the action.

"Kahā̃ j ā t e h o?" - 'Tumhāre pās ātā thā' - "Maĩ yah hū̃." (Kumār[1], p. 115) »"Where are you going?" - 'I am on the way (lit., 'I was going') to your place.' - "Here I am ..."«

maĩ āp ko praṇām k a r t ā h ū̃, bhante! (Prabhākar[4], p. 24) 'I pay obeisance to you, Your Reverence!'

tum aise kyõ d e k h t ī h o ...? (Prabhākar[7], p. 154) 'why are you looking like this?'

are baiṭho bhī ... - Lo, b a i ṭ h t ī h ū̃ (Prabhākar[4], p. 98) »"Oh, do sit down ... "-'Look, I am sitting down.'« *k a h t ī h ū̃, maĩ abhī ātī hū̃ ... k a h t ī to h ū̃, maĩ abhī ātī hū̃* (Kumār[2], p. 336) 'I say I shan't be long ... well, I do say I shan't be long.'

8,2. To express an action as actually in progress at the moment of speaking, a particular modified verbal expression is very often used in Hindī, scil. the combination of the simple absolutive of a main verb with *rahā hū̃,* the perfect of *rahnā* 'to remain'. This modified verbal expression has the capacity of denoting an action as in progress at the moment of speaking, it is marked with regard to the actualness of the present action, provided that *rahā hū̃* is grammaticalized and, consequently, loses its lexical meaning:

tum kahā̃ j ā r a h e h o? (Kumār[3], p. 196) 'where are you going?'

"yahā̃ kyā k a r r a h e h o?" - 'Vicār k a r r a h ā h ū̃.' (Prasād, p. 63) »"What are you doing here?" - 'I am thinking.'«

hailo! Jī, hā̃, maĩ Hemcandr(a) b o l r a h ā h ū̃ (Prabhākar[4], p. 88) 'hullo! Yes, (Sir, Madam,) this is Hemcandra calling.'

dekho, vah kisān ā r a h ā h a i (Sinh, A., p. 18) 'look, there comes the peasant.'

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[150] *Sāmāny(a) vart(a)mān(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 369; Greaves, pp. 208, 492; Scholberg, p. 90; Sharma, S., p. 24. - Present Imperfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 234, 237 etc.; Greaves, pp. 208, 492; Scholberg, pp. 79, 83, 86, 90. - Present Indicative: Sharma, A., p. 63; Bailey[2], p. 10; Bailey[3], p. 42; Tisdall p. 101. - Present Indefinite: Sharma S., p. 24. Habitual Present: Harley, p. 14. - Das generelle Präsens: Lienhard, p. 49. - Präsens: Spies, p. 35. - Настоящее время: Barannikov[1], p. 88; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1277; Beskrovnyj[1], p. 87; Beskrovnyj[3], pp. 792, 796; Dymšic[1], p. 66; Dymšic[2], pp. 1077 seq. Настоящее общее время: Katenina[1], p. 62- Katenina[2], p. 1325. - Nedokonavý čas přítomný, Present Imperfect: Pořízka[1], p. 109; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

8,3. In one and the same context of conversation, one and the same actual present action may be expressed by an unmodified verb (i.e. unmarkedly) in one case, and by the modified verbal expression with *rahā hū̃* (i.e. markedly) in another case:

maĩ dūr se ā t ā h ū̃ ... maĩ bahut dūr se ā r a h ā h ū̃ (Kumār[2], p. 336) 'I am coming from far ... I am coming from very distant countries.'

To get an approximate idea of the frequency of modified verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃,* one may read, e.g., the short story *Pardeśī* (Foreigner) by Jainendra Kumār.[151] This short story is, in the main, a dialogue between a man and a woman. In the dialogue, there are 100 instances of the present tense of unmodified verbs (leaving apart the verb *saknā* 'to be able to do something'); this number includes 63 instances of actual present, i.e. of the present tense denoting an action as in progress at the moment of speaking. The modified verbal expression with *rahā hū̃, rahā hai,* etc. occurs in 21 instances, each time signifying an action as in progress at the present moment (from the speaker's point of view), i.e. used in the function of the actual present. This is exactly a third part as compared with 63 instances where the actual present is denoted by an unmodified verb.

8,4. Paul Hacker and V. M. Beskrovnyj have observed that, in some contexts, the combination of the simple absolutive with *rahā hū̃* (or *rahā thā,* etc.) cannot indicate the progress of the action. Paul Hacker does not discuss this case in detail.[152] V. M. Beskrovnyj tries to solve the problem by dividing the uses of "verbal bases" with *rahnā* into two groups:

1) "Intensive verbs", formed from some intransitive verbs; in this case, *rahnā* may appear in any finite form or ín the infinitive.[153] The meaning of "intensive forms" takes a nuance of fixation of state in a definite space of time.[154]

2) "Durative verbs", formed by combining the "durative participle" with the copula *hū̃, hai,* etc.[155] The "durative participle" is formed from the simple absolutive of any verb by adding the participle *rahā, rahī, rahe.*[156]

V. M. Beskrovnyj believes that the "durative participle" serves to express the durative and progressing character of an action or state, and that it always maintains this meaning.[157] But this opinion is disproved by documentary evidence showing that the combination of a simple absolutive with the participle *rahā* has no inherent meaning of continuance or progress of an action or state:

us mẽ sañcit h o r a h ī uttej(a)nā bikhrī nahī̃ (Ajñey[1], p. 178) 'the energy accumulated in it (*in Śekhar's body*), did not dissipate;' here, the participle *rahī* maintains much of its lexical meaning: 'accumulated' = 'having remained after being accumulated'.

On the other hand, we have:

...prastāv par vibhinn(a) yoj(a)nā-lakṣyõ kī pragati kī jā̃c ke silsile mẽ is samay h o r a h e parīkṣaṇõ ke bād hī vicār kiyā jā saktā hai (NBhT[4], p. 1) 'the motion may only be considered after investigations that are at present being made in connection with inquiring into the progress of (carrying out) the plan in its various aspects;' here, the participle *rahe* is fully grammaticalized, its lexical meaning is lost.

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[151] Kumār[2], pp. 336-342.

[152] Hacker[2], p. 290: "Das aktuelle Präsens *ho rahā hai* scheint manchmal semantisch zu *hai* zu gehören, z. B. in dem Satz: *us vaqt maĩ bhī andhā ho rahā thā.* "Damals war ich auch noch blind" ... In solchen Sätzen kann *rahnā* den Sinn unseres "noch" wiedergeben."

[153] Beskrovnyj[1], pp. 83-93.

[154] Beskrovnyj[1], p. 85: »Значение интенсивных форм приобретает оттенок фиксированности состояния на определенном отрезке времени.«

[155] Beskrovnyj[1], pp. 93-103.

[156] Beskrovnyj[1], p. 93.

[157] Beskrovnyj[1], p. 93: » ... служащее для выражения длительной и процессивной характеристики действия-состояния. Всегда сохраняя это значение ..., это дуративное причастие употребляется атрибутно и предикативно.«

Thus, the distinction between varying functions of *rahnā* applies even to what is called the "durative participle" by V. M. Beskrovnyj. The only point of relevance is the fact of grammaticalization of *rahnā,* or the absence of its grammaticalization.

8,5. In Hindī, some grammatical words are, originally, verbal forms.[158] Such words are fully grammaticalized in some contexts or situations, but remain ungrammaticalized in other contexts or situations. This also applies to *jānā*[159] and to *rahā hũ̃* in modified verbal expressions. When not fully grammaticalized, *rahā hũ̃* maintains, to some degree at least, the force of the perfect tense of *rahnā* 'to remain'. The sense of the statement varies accordingly:

ab mehtar huqqā p ī r a h ā h a i. Us ke bacce miṭṭī se k h e l r a h e h a ĩ, aur maile h o rahe h a ĩ (Bailey[1], p. 19) 'now the sweeper is smoking his hookah. His children are playing with the dust, and getting dirty;' actual present, the modifying verb fully grammaticalized.

nahā-dho lo aur kapṛe badal lo. Kaise maile h o r a h e h o ! (Kumār[3], p. 120) 'have a wash and change your clothes. What a dirty state you are in!' A present state expressed, lit., 'having become dirty, you have remained (dirty).' In some languages, this sense is best expressed by a verbal adjective denoting a state resulting from a preceding action (in Czech: 'Jak jsi ušpiněn!') - The strengthened absolutive has an analogous function in instances such as *vah tum se b a ṛ h k a r hai* (Sharma, S., p. 82) 'he is better than you', lit., 'he is (after) having advanced from you'.

kapṛā s ū k h r a h ā h a i (Ulciferov, p. 604) 'the linen is getting dry;' actual present.

cehrā kālā paṛ gayā hai. Hõṭh s ū k h r a h e h a ĩ (Nāgārjun, p. 1) '(his) face has got black. (His) lips are dried up;' a present state expressed, lit., 'having become dry, (they) have remained (dry);' the sense '(his) lips are getting dry,' taken by itself, is possible, but it hardly accords with the context describing the countenance of a man under torture. Nāgārjun himself (Nāgārjun*, p. 80) translates: 'His face had turned black. His lips were dry.'

hom ke dhuẽ se naye pattõ kī kãti kaisī dhundhlī h o r a h ī h a i (Sinh, L., p. 5) 'how dim the gloss of new leaves is owing to the smoke of burnt-offerings!' A present state expressed, lit., 'having become dim, (it) has remained (dim).'

mahārānī, smṛti dhundhlī h o r a h ī h a i aur ādeś k h o r a h e h a ĩ. Bhram ho bhī saktā hai (Kumār[3], p. 131) 'Queen, the remembrance is dim, and the orders are forgotten (lit., 'lost'). A mistake is possible, too;' the sense 'the remembrance is becoming dim, and the orders are getting lost' is possible in itself, but, in the given context, improbable.

8,6. With the verb *honā* 'to be', 'to become', 'to happen', the function of the actual present is very often fulfilled by the simple present tense *hũ̃* '(I) am', *hai* '(he, she, it) is', etc., used alone or as a copula (cf. also Hacker[2], pp. 262, 266, 278, 287-288), e.g.:

maĩ hī to hũ̃ (Kumār[2], p. 340) 'it is I, to be sure.'

to yah larkā h a i ! (Prabhākar[2], p. 16) 'so this is the boy!'

vah dekho, Śannodevī khaṛī h a ĩ (Nehrū, M., p. 458) 'look, there is Śannodevī standing.'

8,7. The present-tense form *hotā hũ̃ '*(I) am' is used in the function of the actual present when the sense of 'becoming' or 'happening' obtains or is at least possible:[160]

mujhe mālūm h a i ki āj abhī us kā fon āyā thā (Prabhākar[4], p. 92) 'I know (lit., 'it is known to me') that she has rung up still today.'

sab bātõ ko dekhne se aisā mālūm h o t ā h a i ki gāṛī chūṭne vālī hai (Gupt, p. 4) 'all (circumstances) indicate that the train is on the point of going away,' lit., 'from observing all things it becomes known that ...'

apne se hī bāt kartā mālūm h o t ā h a i (Ajñey[2], p. 84) 'he seems[161] to be talking with himself.'

[158] Cf. below, at no. 27,922.

[159] Cf. above, at no. 1,93.

[160] This point is discussed in detail by Hacker[2], pp. 261-287.

8,8. The markedly[162] actual present *ho rahā hai* means '(it) is happening', 'is taking place', 'is arising', and the like, provided that the modifying perfect *rahā hai* is fully grammaticalized:

ḍākṭar sāhab, yah kyā h o r a h ā h a i ? (Prabhākar[4], p. 120) 'what is the matter, doctor?'
khānā ṭhaṇḍā h o r a h ā h a i (Kumār[3], p. 104) 'the dinner is becoming cold.'
baṛā śor h o r a h ā h a i (Bailey[1], p. 21) 'there is *(arises)* an awful noise.' *Praśānt, āj tumhẽ h o kyā r a h ā h a i ?* (Kumār[5], p. 147) 'Praśānt, what's the matter with you today?'
Suddhā, tujhe yah kyā h o r a h ā h a i ? Tū ekāek pīlī kyõ paṛ gaī hai? (Prabhākar[7], p. 158) 'Suddhā, what's the matter with you? Why have you turned pale suddenly?'
kyā māmlā hai? Baṛī udās h o r a h ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 454) 'what's the matter? You have become very sad;' a present state expressed, lit., 'having become sad, you have remained (sad);' the sense 'you are becoming sad,' taken by itself, is possible, but, in the given context, unlikely.

9,1. The present tense of unmodified verbs is unmarked with regard to actual present action or state, but may denote it in a given context or situation.[163] But it is unmarked even with regard to non-actual present action or state, and may denote it, again, in a given context or situation. Thus, it may denote an action irrespective of a particular time sphere, it may signify a time-less action, a characteristic, a habitual action, a general truth, etc. In a vivid narration, it may be used as historic present to signify a past action. Hence, it often appears in author's speech as well as in dialogue.

sukh ā t e h a ĩ aur cale j ā t e h a ĩ, dukh ā t e h a ĩ aur cale j ā t e h a ĩ. Bacce paidā h o t e h a ĩ aur buḍḍhe m a r t e h a ĩ. Mitr[(a)]tā b a n t ī h a i aur ṭ ū ṭ t ī h a i. Yah sab ek vicitr[(a)] kram hai (Varmā, Bh., p. 101) 'happiness comes and goes away, pain comes and goes away. Children are born and old people die. Friendship is contracted and severed. All this is a strange course (of things).'
rāt ko ham s o t e h a ĩ aur din mẽ kām k a r t e h a ĩ (Jain[1], p. 43) 'at night, we sleep and, by day, we work.'
lekin hã̃, tum śarāb to p ī t e hī nahĩ̃ (Kumār[3], p. 107) 'but of course, you don't drink spirits.'
dṛśy[(a)] ā t e h a ĩ aur cale j ā t e h a ĩ. Aur Śekhar kī vivek-buddhi ko, vivecan-śakti ko, sāth l e j ā t e h a ĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 117) 'scenes are coming and going away. And they take away Śekhar's reason, Śekhar's faculty of judgment;' description of impressions of a boy at a theatrical performance.

9,2. When a non-actual action or state is to be expressed by *honā* 'to be', 'to become', 'to happen', the compound present-tense form *hotā hũ̃* etc. is, as a rule, employed. But the simple present-tense form *hũ̃* etc. also occurs with this meaning:

sonā to sūkhī pattī kī tarah pīlā h o t ā h a i (Premcand[1], p. 18) 'gold is yellow like a dry leaf.'
mã̃ yahã̃ is lie dukhī h o t ī h a i ki mã̃ h a i (Kumār[2], p. 342) 'here (in this country) mother is unhappy, because she is (actually) a mother.'
mã̃ bhī yah dhyān se dekh rahī thĩ̃, ki foṭogrāfī kaise h o t ī h a i (Kumār[1], p. 3) 'the mother was also watching attentively how one does take a photograph', lit., 'how a photograph is done.'
gã̃v ke pās vālā gã̃v, śah(a)r ke pās vālā śah(a)r, sab ek dūsre ke paṛosī h a ĩ (Prabhākar[3], p. 10) 'a village adjoining (another) village, a town adjoining (another) town, all (these) are neighbours of one another.'

9,3. When personal characteristic, competence, ability, or kinship is meant, either the simple form *hũ̃* or the compound form *hotā hũ̃* is used:

tum kaun h o jo merī cīz lete ho? (Tivārī, p. 128) 'you have no right to take my thing ' lit., 'who are you who are taking my thing?'
hamāre bīc mẽ paṛne vāle tum kaun h o ? (Kumār[3], p. 152) 'it's none of your business to meddle with us' lit., 'who are you (who are) falling between us?'

[161] For the difference between *mālūm hai* and *mālūm hotā hai,* see, e. g., Platts, p. 1049, s. v. *ma'lūm;* Bailey[2], p. 15; Lienhard, pp. 62-63; Hacker[2], pp. 282-283.
[162] The feature of actualness is a "mark" inherent in the meaning of this verbal expression.
[163] Cf. above, at no. 8,1.

tum hamāre bīc mẽ bolne vāle kaun h o t e h o ? (HŚS, p. 654) 'it's none of your business to meddle with us,' lit., 'who are you (who are) speaking between us?'

use socne kā haq? vah kaun h o t ā h a i kuch socne vālā? (Kumār[1], p. 130) 'has he the right to think (of anything)? He has no right to think of anything.' lit. 'who is he (who is) thinking of anything?'

vah tumhārā kaun h a i ? (Guru, p. 537) 'what relation is he to you?'

ve tumhāre kaun h o t e h a ĩ ? (HŚS p. 654) 'what relation is he to you?'

mā̃ ke lie to tū sadā beṭā hī h a i (Kumār[1], p. 7) 'after all, for (your) mother you are always son.'

10,1. The modified verbal expression with *jānā* is marked with regard to non-actualness of an action, provided that the modifying verb *jānā* is fully grammaticalized. Thus, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* differ from unmodified verbs and from modified verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃* and constitute a particular grammatical category.[164] In this point, there is an analogy between Hindī and Slavonic languages. In Slavonic languages, the present tense of perfective verbs denotes a future action or an action indifferent to any position in the time sphere.[165] This is relevant to the grammaticality of the perfective verbal aspect in Slavonic languages.[166]

There is, however, a particularly typical analogy between Hindī and Lithuanian. In Lithuanian, too, perfective present-tense forms are incapable of denoting an actual present action. They can express a timeless action, or a past action (historic present), or a future action.[167]

10,2. The non-actual present often occurs in stage directions (scenic, or dramatic, present). In this function, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* alternate with their unmodified counterparts, seemingly without any difference in meaning. But there is a difference in meaning between them, and, occasionally, this difference is pointed out explicitly in the context. In Czech translation, this difference may be made evident by using corresponding aspectual equivalents.

In fact, Czech language largely employs both imperfective and perfective verbs in the historic present as well as in the scenic present.[168] In these functions, the present of perfective verbs only preserves its meaning of perfectiveness, the meaning of futurity being neutralized. In Polish and Russian, on the other hand, in the function of historic present and scenic present, perfective verbs are gradually being pushed back by imperfective verbs.[169]

dṛśy[(a)] b a d a l t ā h a i (Nehrū, M., pp. 352-355, 455, 456, 458-460) 'the scene changes;' Czech: 'scéna se mění.'

dṛśy[(a)] b a d a l j ā t ā h a i (Nehrū, M., pp. 351, 459) 'the scene changes;' Czech: 'scéna se změní.'

pardā g i r t ā h a i (Prabhākar[4], pp. 26, 110, 158; Prabhākar[8], pp. 21, 41, 49, 53, 62, 73, 80, 87, 91; Aśk[2], pp. 59, 92; etc.) 'the curtain falls;' Czech: 'opona padá.'

pardā g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[4], p. 173, Aśk[2], p. 115) 'the curtain falls (down);' Czech: 'opona spadne.'

The meaning of perfectiveness is evident, when pointed out by some other means at the same time (by adverbs, adverbial expressions, adjectives used complementally):

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[164] Cf. above, at no. 1,95.

[165] Cf. below, at no. 29,3.

[166] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 40. See below, at no. 27,921-3.

[167] Cf. Dambriūnas, p. 256. See below, at no. 29,4.

[168] Křížková, p. 253, see below, at no. 29,3, foot-note 476. - Besides, cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 29, 34.

[169] Křížková, p. 253. But cf. Maslov's note to this point in *Voprosy,* p. 404, note 48, see below, at no. 29,3 foot-note 480.

pardā girne lagtā hai ... pardā pūrā g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[2] pp. 30, 41; Prabhākar[8], pp. 36-37) 'the curtain begins to fall ... , the curtain falls completely.'

pardā girne lagtā hai ... Yahĩ pardā pūrī tarah g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[4], p. 84) 'the curtain begins to fall ... There the curtain falls completely;' here, the context as it were demands the use of the modified verbal expression with *jānā:* the perfectiveness of the action is evident.

10,3. Sometimes the choice of the form of the scenic present depends upon stylistic considerations:

ye donõ takht par jākar b a i ṭ h t e h a ĩ aur vālaṇṭiyar pīche khaṛe h o j ā t e h a ĩ. Sabhānetrī khaṛī h o t ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 349) 'both of them (*viz. the chairwoman and the speaker*) go on the platform and sit down; the volunteers stand themselves behind. The chairwoman of the assembly stands up;' here, the modified form alternates with the unmodified one evidently for stylistic reasons.

In other instances, a close examination may find other reasons than the sense of stylistic variation:

b a i ṭ h t ī h a i aur Brahm(a)datt khaṛe h o t e h a ĩ (Nehrū; M., p. 350) 'she (*scil. the chairwoman*) sits down and Brahmadatt stands up;' a normal, quiet situation.

donõ hāthõ se sir pakaṛkar b a i ṭ h j ā t ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 459) 'she holds her head with both her hands and sits down;' excited mental state expressed.

donõ kauc par b a i ṭ h t e h a ĩ (Aśk[1], p. 49) 'both of them sit down on the couch;' a normal, quiet situation.

(Bacce se:) Cal, nikal yahã se. Sūar! Kambakht! (Kān pakaṛkar use darvāze kī tar(a)f ghasīṭte haĩ, baccā rotā huā b a i ṭ h j ā t ā h a i) (Aśk[1], p. 41) »(Mr. Seṭh to the boy:) Go, be off, you rascal (lit. 'pig'), you wretch! (He takes him by the ear and drags him to the door; weeping, the boy sits down).« The action pointed out as realized under uncommon circumstances.

Gopālprasād - B a i ṭ h o, beṭī!

Rāmsvarūp - Vahã b a i ṭ h j ā o , Umā, us takht par, apne bāje-vāje ke pās. (Umā b a i ṭ h t ī h a i.) (Māthur, p. 114.)

»Gopālprasād: "Sit down, my girl!"

Rāmsvarūp (*father of the girl*): "Umā, sit down there, near your musical instruments on the dais." (Umā sits down.)«

In this instance, the scenic present has unmodified form, as the realization of the action does not attract attention. In the imperative, the guest uses the unmodified form, the father of the girl employs the modified verbal expression with *jānā.* The reason may be that the realization of the action is pointed out. But it is significant to note that the father specifies where the girl should sit down. Thus, the expression is terminative in the sense that it denotes the action as aiming at reaching a certain target. Besides an "inverted sequence of actions"[170] may be implied. Then, *vahã baiṭh jāo* 'sit down there' would replace *vahã baiṭhne jāo* 'go and sit down there,' lit. 'go to sit down there.'

10,4. The use of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in the scenic present is closely connected with the use of these expressions in the historic present, in author's speech (i.e. in the speech of narrator as distinct from the speech of characters). Here, again, these expressions may alternate with their unmodified counterparts.[171] The modified expressions are used under the same rules as in the case of the scenic present.[172]

bālak phūl toṛte-toṛte thak gayā hai aur ab phūlõ kā vah bāhuly(a) bhī nahĩ rahā, ab kahĩ dūr par ek-ādh phūl m i l j ā t ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 21) 'gathering flowers, the boy got tired and yet, he did not have enough of them (lit. 'this remained no plenty'), there were a few (more) flowers to get somewhere farther, still.'

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[170] Cf. below, at no. 25,5.

[171] Compare the alternation of imperfective and perfective verbs in the historic present in Czech, see above, at no. 10,2, and foot-note 168, and below, at no. 29,3, foot-note 476.

[172] Cf. above, at nos. 10,2-3.

calte-calte jo pās huī usī kursī par b a i ṭ h j ā t e h a ĩ (Kumār[1], p. 132) 'as he was walking, he sat down on a chair that happened to be near by.'

10,5. In the function of the historic present of *honā* 'to be' 'to become', 'to happen', the modified form *ho jātā hũ̃* is used with the meaning 'to become', 'to happen', and the like. But the unmodified form *hotā hũ̃*[173] and the simple present *hũ̃*[174] also occur in this function:

Śekhar ekāek khaṛā h o j ā t ā h a i. Yah ek naī bāt thī us ke jīvan mẽ (Ajñey[1], p. 70) 'suddenly, Śekhar stands up. It was a new thing in his life.'

jhaṭpaṭ kām h o t ā h a i sab ke sab kām mẽ l a g j ā t e h a ĩ (Kumār[3], p. 58) 'the work is done quickly, all (sorts of people) set about work.'

pātr[(a)] mahilā ke pairõ ke pās g i r j ā t ā h a i. Mahilā aprasann[(a)] h o t ī h a i, kuch prasann[(a)] bhī h o t ī h a i (Kumār[2], p. 338) 'the pot falls down to the woman's feet. The woman is displeased, (but) also somewhat pleased.'

vah apne ko is khūbsūrat aur naye raṅg se raṅgā dekhkar prasann[(a)] h a i (Kumār[3], p. 90) 'he is pleased seeing himself coloured with this beautiful fresh colour,' viz. with blood.

10,6. The present of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is, in particular, used to express a repeated, habitual action, a characteristic (characterizing present), a general truth (gnomic present), and the like. It signifies actions irrespective of any particular time sphere. Here, again, these expressions alternate with unmodified verbs:

kabhī-kabhī bilkul baccā b a n j ā t ī h a i (Kumār[5], p. 223) 'sometimes, she becomes quite a child.'

... jab bhojan kā samay h o t ā h a i to hamẽ apne āp bhūkh l a g j ā t ī h a i. Sakhā - Hã̃, kumār! Yah bāt to hai. Sone ke vaqt nĩ̃d ā j ā t ī h a i (Prabhākar[2], p. 19).

»"... when it is time for meal, we feel hungry (lit., 'hunger comes of its own accord')."

Sakhā: "Yes, prince, just so. When it is time for sleeping, we feel sleepy (lit., 'sleep comes')."«

itne mẽ das b a j j ā t e h a ĩ aur skūl jāne kā samay h o j ā t ā h a i (Jain[1], p. 54) 'meanwhile it is ten o'clock (already) and it is time to go to school,' or 'ten o'clock has gone by and the time has come ...;' everyday routine meant.

kaī khādyapadārthõ ko ham binā pakāye k h ā j ā t e h a ĩ (Varmā, S.[2], p. 9) 'we eat ('one eats') some foodstuffs without cooking.'

duniyā bhar ke log har ghaṇṭe ausat se pãc k(a)roṛ pyāle kāfī yā cāy p ī j ā t e h a ĩ (Sinh, R., p. 26) 'people all the world over drink on the average fifty million cups of coffee or tea every hour.'

varṣā ke bād śarad ṛtu ā t ī h a i. Is ṛtu mẽ kabhī-kabhī pānī b a r a s j ā t ā h a i (Jain[2], p. 33) 'after the rainy season comes autumn. In this season, it sometimes rains.' *is ṛtu mẽ sardī kam h o j ā t ī h a i* (Jain[2], p. 34) 'in this season (*viz. in late winter*), the cold grows less.'

kāl calā j ā t ā h a i aur cīzõ ko naī purānī k a r j ā t ā h a i (Kumār[4], p. 127) 'the time passes away and changes things (from) new (to) old.'

thake bail kī sab thakāvaṭ us samay u t a r j ā t ī h a i jab log k a h t e h a ĩ ki ye āye bailõ ke rājā (Sinh, L., p. 68) 'all the weariness of a tired bullock passes off the moment when people say that the king of bullocks is coming,' lit., 'look, here has come ...'

kabhī-kabhī 'mẽ' aur 'par' āpas mẽ b a d a l j ā t e h a ĩ (Guru, p. 546) *'(the postpositions)* 'mẽ' and 'par' are sometimes interchanged.'

10,7. Perfectiveness of an action is by no means incompatible with repetition of the action. One and the same form may denote a concrete single action in one instance, and a repeated action in another instance. This applies to modified verbal expressions in Hindī as well as to perfective verbs in Slavonic languages.[175]

[173] Cf. above, at nos. 8,7; 9,2-3.

[174] Cf. above, at no. 8,6.

[175] Cf. below, at no. 29,6.

This shade of meaning escaped T. Grahame Bailey's notice, though it may be exemplified from his own text-book. T. Grahame Bailey says: "Most, but not all, intransitive verbs can be compounded with *jānā.* When so compounded, they indicate a single action or occasion, involving change of state, finality, or completeness; there is no idea of a continuing process."[176]

But in Bailey's text-book, there are sentences such as:

āp k̲hud hī jānte haĩ ki śām tak thakāvaṭ h o h ī j ā t ī h a i [177] (Bailey[1], p. 49) 'well, you know yourself that by sunset one does get tired.'

safar karte-karte hī qism-qism kī cīzẽ un ke hāth ā j ā t ī h a ĩ (Bailey[1], p. 59) 'while they're travelling they can get all kinds of things.'

One and the same expression may denote a single action in one instance, and a repeated action in another instance:

kuttā kamre mẽ paṛī Mohan kī roṭī khāne lagtā hai. Itne mẽ mã̃ ā j ā t ī h a i (Śāstrī, p.17) 'the dog begins to eat Mohan's bread laid aside in the room. At that moment, the mother comes;' author's speech.

pitā - "... cauthī bār bu̲k̲hār caṛhā hai." ...

Suśīl - '... na jāne kyõ bār-bār ā j ā t ā h a i. Ḍākṭar sāhab, is bār koī tez sī davā dījiye." (Prabhākar[4], pp. 122-123).

»Father: " ... he has got fever the fourth time." ...

Suśīl: " ... God knows why it comes again and again. Doctor, please give me some strong medicine, this time."«

10,8. In the first and second persons, i.e. when the speaker is referring to himself or to the person addressed, the present of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is less frequent.

"maĩ bandhā huā hũ̃ ... kartavy[(a)] se." - 'Kartavy[(a)] se? Oho! Phir to āge zubān band. Is śabd ke āge maĩ ghuṭne ṭekkar b a i ṭ h j ā t ā h ũ̃.' (Kumār[4], p. 69) »"There is a tie for me ... the duty." - 'Duty? Oh, then I (must) stop talking (lit., 'the tongue stops'). I am kneeling down to this word;'« transferred meaning irrespective of any particular time sphere; the speaker characterizes his own personal attitude.

zarā madad kar do, tah karā do, maĩ akelī t h a k j ā t ī h ũ̃ (Nehrū, M., p. 355) 'would you just help me and get the clothes folded up, I get tired (when I am) alone;' in prof. J. C. Jain's opinion, the sense is *hameśā thak jātī hũ̃* 'I get always tired.'[178]

In another context, we have:

us kī bã̃h t h a k r a h ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 238) 'his arm is getting tired;' narrator's speech.

A similar distinction is to be made between *ho jātā hai* '(it) happens' and *ho rahā hai* '(it) happens':

oh, tumhẽ kyā h o j ā t ā h a i, bhaiyā? Us ne jādū kar diyā hai cuṛai ... kahĩ̃ kī! (Kumār[4], p. 112) 'oh, what happens to you, brother? She has bewitched you, that confounded hag!' In Viṣṇu Prabhākar's opinion, the sense is *keval isī kṣaṇ nahĩ̃, (tumhẽ kyā) aksar ho jātā hai?*[179] 'what happens to you not only at this moment, but generally?'

On the other hand, we have, e.g.:

Sudhā, tujhe yah kyā h o r a h ā h a i ? Tū ekāek pīlī kyõ paṛ gaī hai? (Prabhākar[7], p. 158) 'Sudhā, what's the matter with you? Why have you turned pale suddenly?' Here, the sense is 'what is happening to you (at this moment)?'

10,9. In Czech, the present of perfective verbs generally denotes a) future action; b) an action irrespective of its position in the time sphere; c) past action (historic present).[180] In Lithuanian, perfective present-tense forms can express a) timeless action, implying perpetual, repeated, or possible action; b) past action (historic present); c) future action.[181]

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[176] Bailey, p. 72.

[177] Transcription modified to agree with that used in this paper.

[178] Jain[3].

[179] Prabhākar[9].

[180] Cf. below, at no. 29,3.

[181] Dambriūnas, p. 256; cf. below, at no. 29,4.

In Hindī, the present of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* denotes a future action (or rather possibility of an action) in instances such as

is mẽ āp kī tasvīr ā j ā t ī h a i, kuch harj to nahĩ? (Kumār[1], p. 3) 'your picture will be taken as well, no harm, I hope?,' lit., 'your picture comes on it;' said to a mother by a photographer taking a photo of her son.

With unmodified verbs, the present-tense form is rather frequently employed to denote a future action, especially with verbs of motion, often accompanied by an adverbial of time:

kahtī hū̃, maĩ abhī ā t ī h ū̃ (Kumār[2], p. 336) 'I say I shan't be long.'
Rādhāgupt - " ... Āp calẽ." - Aśok - 'Hā̃, hā̃, maĩ abhī c a l t ā h ū̃.' (Prabhākar[5], p. 79) Rādhāgupt: "... Please go." - Aśok: 'Yes, yes, I am going immediately.'

The modified verbal expression with *rahā hū̃* may also serve to signify a future action:

kahiye, āp kab ā r a h e h a ĩ ? (Prabhākar[6], p. 30) 'please say - when are you coming?'

11,1. In mental apprehension of the speaker, an actual present action, i.e. an action in progress at the moment of speaking, may be transposed together with the moment of speaking into another time sphere.[182] Hence the use of modified verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃* as scenic present, historic present, etc. Besides, these expressions are employed with reference to repeated or habitual actions as taking place at the present time.

dṛśy(a) badaltā hai. Rāmāv(a)tār kā ḍrāiṅgrūm. Vah sig(a)reṭ p ī r a h ā h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 456) 'the scene changes. Rāmāvatār's drawing-room. He is smoking a cigarette;' scenic present.
tīn-cār laṛke ek ḍibbe mẽ se mũh nikāl kar d e k h r a h e h a ĩ. Ve kisī kī pratīkṣā k a r r a h e h a ĩ (Gupt, p. 4) 'several boys are looking out of one railway carriage. They are waiting for someone;' narrator's speech.
sab kahĩ yah h o r a h ā h a i ... baṛe se baṛe gharõ mẽ ... Binā kanyā dekhe vivāh ab baṛe gharõ mẽ nahĩ hotā (Miśra[1], p. 115) 'that's done (lit., 'that is happening') everywhere ... in the best families ... Nowadays, in better families, nobody marries a girl without having seen her.'
kaī roz se ek qaidī ko d e k h r a h ā h ū̃ (Kumār[3], p. 84) 'since several days, I have been watching a prisoner.'

11,2. The present *rahtā hū̃* forms a rather loose combination with the simple absolutive of a main verb it is added to. This loose combination may also take the function of a scenic present, historic present, etc.:

Mā calī jātī hai. Beṭī laimp bujhākar l e ṭ r a h t ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 454) 'The mother goes away. The daughter puts out the lamp and lies down,' *or rather:* 'The mother goes away. The daughter remains, puts out the lamp, and lies down;' scenic present. Here the action expressed by the simple absolutive of the main verb may be regarded as subsequent to that signified by the present *rahtī hai* ("inverted sequence of actions").[183]
us ne ek naī bāt sīkhī hai. Us ke pitā jis samay daftar gaye hote haĩ, tab dupahar ke bārah-ek baje, vah apne ghar se nikalkar, apne pahāṛ kī coṭī se kuch dūr par, ek path ke kināre kāhī ke vistar par b a i ṭ h r a h t ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 171) 'he has learnt a new thing. At the time when his father is (usually) at his office, at noon or at one o'clock, he goes away from his house, sits down on a seat of grass by the side of a road at a distance from the summit of his mountain, and remains (there);' historic present; the simple absolutive denotes an antecedent action, *rahtā hai* retains its lexical meaning.
On the other hand, we have, e.g.:

[182] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 7, 15.
[183] Cf. below, at no. 25,5.

Rāj phir l e ṭ j ā t ī h a i (Aśk[2], p. 63) ‘Rāj (*name of a girl*) lies down again;’ scenic present; realization of the action is pointed out, the modifying verb *jātī hai* is fully grammaticalized and loses its lexical meaning.

11,3. Discussing the "durative verbs", V. M. Beskrovnyj mentions, among other "durative forms", also the combination of the "durative participle"[184] with the "non-standard copula" *hotā hai.*[185] In reality, the form *hotā hai* is the compound present-tense form of *honā* ‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to happen’, fulfilling here the same function as when used with a noun or an adjective in the predicate:[186]

rājkanyā na sahī, jab vah maidān mẽ g h ū m r a h ā h o t ā h a i, tab vahā̃ itnī laṛkiyā̃ k h e l r a h ī h o t ī h a ĩ, kyõ nahī̃ un mẽ hī koī chipī huī ṭāpū-vāsinī ākar use bulātī, "Āo. Tum hamāre abādh khel mẽ śāmil hoo!" (Ajñey[1], p. 112-113) »Oh all right, if not a princess. When he takes a walk (lit., ‘is [one who is] taking a walk’) on the maidān, there are (always) so many girls playing there (lit., girls are [ones who are] playing there), why an islander hidden among them does not come and call to him: "Come! Join us in our free plays!"«

The simple 1st (imperfective present) participle or the simple 2nd (perfective, past) participle may be used in the same way:

vah sīdhā-sādā ādmī hotā hai. Ghar kutumb vālā hotā hai. Apne pyārõ ko pyār k a r t ā h o t ā h a i (Kumār[3], p. 82) ‘it (*i.e., this type of moral offender*) usually is a simple man. It is (a man) having a household and a family. It is (a man) who loves his dear ones,’ lit., (it) is (one who is) loving...

is tarah ke log samāj ke rakṣak aur ādhār hote haĩ. Sabhyatā aur sãskṛti inhī̃ par ṭ i k ī h o t ī h a i (Kumār[3], p. 80) ‘people of this kind are guardians and support of the society. Civilization and culture rests upon them,’ lit., ‘is (one that is) supported by them.’

us ne ek naī bāt sīkhī hai. Us ke pitā jis samay daftar g a y e h o t e h a ĩ, tab dupahar ke bārah-ek baje, vah apne ghar se nikalkar, apne pahāṛ kī coṭī se kuch dūr par, ek path ke kināre kāhī ke vistar par baiṭh rahtā hai (Ajñey[1], p. 171) ‘he has learnt a new thing. At the time when his father is (usually) at his office (lit., is [one who has] gone to the office), at noon or at one o’clock, he goes away from his house, sits down on a seat of grass by the side of a road at a distance from the summit of his mountain, and remains (there).’

12,1. The 1st (imperfective, present) participle used as finite verb has either an indicative meaning and can be termed the 1st habitual,[187] or a conditional meaning and, then, it represents the 1st conditional. The 1st habitual denotes a past action as performed repeatedly, habitually, or regularly.[188] It is, however, impossible to define this meaning correctly, when the context or situation is not known.[189] The habitual links the action to a given context or situation:

Ek lambe rāste par saṛak ke kināre us kī dukān thī. Rāhgīr vahī̃ darakhtõ ke nīce baiṭhkar thakān u t ā r t e aur us se kuch canā-cabenā lekar bhūkh m i ṭ ā t e. Dūkāndār unhẽ ṭhaṇḍā pānī p i l ā t ā aur sukh-duḥkh[(a)] kā hāl p ū c h t ā. Is prakār tarotāzā hokar rāhgīr apne rāste par āge b a ṛ h j ā t e. (Prabhākar[1], p. 37) ‘His shop was (situated) by the side of a way going far. Passers-by (always) sat down there under the trees to recover from their weariness and bought a little chick-peas and parched grain from him to appease their hunger. The shopkeeper (always) gave them cool water to drink and asked (them) about (their) joys and sorrows. In this manner, the travellers (always) refreshed themselves and then continued on their way.’

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[184] Cf. above, at no. 8,4.

[185] Beskrovnyj[1], pp. 98-99.

[186] Cf. above, at nos. 8,7; 9,2.

[187] The Indefinite Imperfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 233 seq., 463 seq.; Greaves, pp. 284 seqq. - Frequentative or Repetitive Past: Sharma, A., p. 71. - Iterative Imperfect: de Vreese, pp. 203 seqq. - Imperfekt der Regelmäßigkeit und Routine: Lienhard, pp. 104-120. - Имперфект (прошедшее несовершенное): Beskrovnyj[1], pp. 89 seq. Nedokonavý čas vyprávěcí, Historic or Narrative Imperfect Tense: Pořízka, p. 176; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[188] For a detailed discussion, see Lienhard, pp. 104-120.

[189] This point is stressed by de Vreese, p. 205.

jab kabhī Lalit kī mā̃ Dulārī kī mā̃ se m i l t ī, to k a h t ī - Bahan, Dulārī baṛī pyārī aur sundar laṛkī hai (Vyās, p. 3) »Whenever Lalit's mother met the mother of Dulārī, she said: "My dear (lit., 'sister'), Dulārī is a very nice and pretty girl."«

12,2. Actions forming a series may be conceived as imperfective or as perfective.[190] Hence, perfective verbs may also take the imperfect tense-form: then, each action of the series is denoted as perfective, and, at the same time, the series of the actions is presented in its continuance, not as a whole. This applies to the imperfect of perfective verbs in Old Slavonic, Old Czech, Old Russian, and in modern Bulgarian.[191] In Lithuanian, the forms of the past iterative tense (imperfectum consuetudinis) can be imperfective, perfective, or neutral.[192]

In Hindī, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* appear in the form of the habitual, when single actions forming a series are apprehended as closed wholes:

kahī̃ un ke āne kī sambhāv(a)nā hotī, to rāste se chiṭak kar dūr b h ā g j ā t ā. Durbhāgy[(a)] se kabhī sāmne p a ṛ hī j ā t ā, to gaṛkar nīcā sir karke aisā khaṛā h o j ā t ā ki yahī̃ ṭhū̃ṭh ho (Kumār[5], p. 236-237) 'whenever she was likely to come, he departed from the way and ran far off. When, unfortunately, he sometimes ran up against her, he hung his head and stood rooted like a stump.'

us din se to, sāhab, jab mauqā miltā, vah mere kamre mẽ ā j ā t ī (Abbās[1], p.46) 'but, Sir, from that day, she used to come into my room whenever there was a chance,' i.e., 'she came each time when ...'

jab daftar mẽ chuṭṭiyā̃ h o j ā t ī̃, to ham donõ ghar cale jāte the (Premcand[3], p. 31) 'whenever we had holidays in the office, both of us used to go home,' i.e., 'whenever holidays came ...'

isṭīsan tak sāmān mujhe hī pahũcānā paṛtā ... Uṭhte-baiṭhte kisī tarah maĩ pahũctā. Gardan ṭ ū ṭ j ā t ī (Nāgārjun, p. 10) 'I had (always) to carry the luggage (of my master) to the station ... I took a rest every now and then and usually arrived there (lit., 'while rising and sitting down I arrived') somehow or other. My neck was (always) as it were broken,' lit., 'neck broke.' - Besides, see the habitual *jal jātī̃* in the next paragraph (12,3).

12,3. When single actions forming a series are represented as in progress at the moment (by transposition of actualness),[193] the modified verbal expression with *rahā hotā* may be used:

jab sā̃jh ḍūbtī hotī thī, aur saṛak kī battiyā̃ jal jātī̃, aur nek kām se cain pākar maĩ ūpar dekhtā, ūpar tāre nikalte hote, aur bāhar log khuś-khuś idhar se ā r a h e h o t e aur udhar cale j ā r a h e h o t e; aur un mẽ striyā̃ bhī hotī̃ (Kumār[5], p. 82) 'When the evening was drawing to a close and lamps blazed up in the street and, enjoying a rest after (my) good work, I was looking upwards, above, there were stars rising, and out of doors, people, full of joy, were coming from one side and going away to the other; usually, there were women among them, too.'

12,4. The 2nd habitual is infrequent, but its use is supported by some documentary evidence:

hamārī bhaĩsẽ dūb bhare maidān yā carāgāh mẽ c a r t ī h o t ī̃ (Nāgārjun, p. 8) 'our buffaloes usually were grazing on the common full of bent-grass, or on the pasture-land.'

ūpar tāre n i k a l t e h o t e (Kumār[5], p. 82) 'above, there were stars rising', cf. the example in the precedent paragraph, no. 12,3.

12,5. The 1st conditional[194] expresses an unrealized or unrealizable action, a wish not to be fulfilled, a possible action in the past, uncertainty or deliberation in

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[190] Cf. Dostál, p. 19.

[191] Cf. Maslov[2], pp. 81-111. - Dostál, p. 601. - Andrejczin, p. 40. - Havránek[2], pp. 224-225.

[192] Cf. Dambriūnas, p. 258.

[193] Cf. above, at no. 11,1.

[194] *Sāmāny[(a)] saṅketārth(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 363; Greaves, p. 208. - *Sāmāny[(a)] hetuhetumad-bhūt(kāl):* Guru, p. 349; Greaves, pp. 208, 492; Sharma, S., p. 164. - Indefinite Imperfect: Kellogg,

the past, and, in particular, an action which would have taken place if certain condition had been fulfilled, or an action which is represented as an unreal condition (in conditional clauses).

Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are of rather frequent occurrence in the form of the 1st conditional. Some examples:

kāś ki ve din phir ā j ā t e ! (Ajñey[1], p. 126) 'would that those days would come back!'

"Apne ghar mẽ rahnā thā." - 'Ghar mẽ merā dam ghuṭ rahā thā. Maĩ pāgal h o j ā t ī.' (Sāhū, p. l7) »"You should have remained at home." - 'At home, I was suffocating. I should have gone mad.'«

mujhe pitā jī kā ḍar na hotā, to maĩ kabhī kī ā j ā t ī (Aśk[2], p. 38) 'had I not been afraid of (my) father, I should have come long ago.'

merī ciṭṭhī kā javāb m i l j ā t ā, to sab tay h o j ā t ā (Kumār[5], p. 149) 'had I received an answer to my letter, everything would have been decided.'

12,6. The 2nd conditional[195] is rather infrequent even with unmodified verbs. Its meaning may be illustrated by these examples:

sās ne sãs choṛkar kahā, "Merā baccā j ī t ā h o t ā, to ab tak tumhāre itnā huā hotā (Nirālā, p. 70) »the mother-in-law heaved a sigh and said: "Were my boy alive, he would be, by now, as tall as you are."«

agar tumhāre dharm[(a)]-mārg par caltā, to āj maĩ bhī laṅgoṭī lagāye g h ū m t ā h o t ā, tum bhī yõ mahal mẽ baiṭhkar mauj na k a r t e h o t e (Premcand[2], p. 45) 'should I observe your religion, I should be running about, today, wearing (only) a loin-cloth and you, too, wouldn't be sitting like this in a palace enjoying yourself.'

13,1. The imperfect[196] is sometimes used with reference to a single, particular past action. Oftener, however, it serves to express a repeated, habitual action or state in the past, or an action or state as an attendant circumstance of another

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pp. 228, 233-234, 465; Greaves, pp. 208, 492; Scholberg, pp. 79, 83. - Past Indefinite Imperfect: Sharma, S., p. 164. - Contingent: Sharma, A., p. 77. - Past Subjunctive: Bailey[2], p. 21. - Past Conditional or Subjunctive: Bailey[3], p. 47. - Conditional Mood: Tisdall, p. 113. - Konditional: Spies, pp. 58, 118. - Einfacher Konditional: Lienhard, p. 216. - Настоящее время условного наклонения: Barannikov[1], p. 94; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1279; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 799. - Общая форма условного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 64; Katenina[2], p. 1328. - Простая форма условного наклонения: Dymšic[1], p. 78; Dymšic[2], p. 1095. - Kondicionál I. (jednoduchý), First (or Simple) Conditional: Pořízka[1], p. 230; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[195] *Apūrṇ[(a)] saṅketārth:* Guru, pp. 349, 364; Scholberg, p. 91. - *Apūrṇ[(a)] hetuhetumadbhūt:* Greaves, pp. 209, 492. - *Sambhāvy[(a)] apūrṇ[(a)] bhūt:* Sharma, S., p. 164. - Past Contingent Imperfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 235; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 80, 84; Sharma, S., p. 164. - Contingent: Sharma, A., p. 77. - Past Conditional Continuous or Past Subjunctive Continuous: Bailey, p. 48. - Past Conditional: Tisdall, p. 116. - Irreales Konditional-Präsens: Spies, pp. 113, 119. - Настоящее время сложное условного наклонения: Barannikov[1], p. 95; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1279; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 799. - Несовершенная форма условного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 65; Katenina[2], p. 1328. - Сложная несовершенная форма условного наклонения: Dymšic[1], p. 78; Dymšic[2], p. 1095. - Kondicionál II. (nedokonavý), 2nd (or Imperfect) Conditional: Pořízka[1], p. 334; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[196] *Apūrṇ[(a)] bhūt(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 363; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, p. 91; Sharma, S., p. 47. - Past Imperfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 234; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 79, 83, 91; Sharma, S., p. 47. - Habitual Past: Harley, p. 14; Sharma, A., p. 70. - Past Continuous: Bailey[2], p. 11. - Imperfect or Past Continuous: Bailey[3], p. 43. - Imperfect Indicative: Tisdall, p. 101. - General Imperfect: de Vreese, p. 204 seq. - Das generelle Imperfekt: Lienhard, pp. 84-92. - Imperfekt: Spies, pp. 36, 118. - Прошедшее несовершенное время: Barannikov[1], p. 89; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1277; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 797; Katenina[1], p. 63; Katenina[2], p. 1325; Dymšic[1], p. 67; Dymšic[2], pp. 1077, 1079. - Nedokonavý čas minulý, Past Imperfect: Pořízka[1], p. 242; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

action in the past, or a mere endeavour, intention to do something (*'imperfectum de conatu'*). Some examples:

Horī qadam baṛhāye calā j ā t ā t h ā (Premcand[1], p. 6) 'Horī was going apace.'

"Kahā̃ jāte ho?" - 'Tumhāre pās ā t ā t h ā. (Kumār[1], p. 115) »"Where are you going?" - 'I was going to your place.'«

vah to maĩ j ā n t ī t h ī ki tum yahī kahoge (Nehrū, M., p. 459) 'I knew you would say this.'

pitā jī musk(a)rāye ve mujhe j ā n t e t h e, śāyad itnā, jitnā maĩ svayam apne ko na j ā n t ā t h ā (Varmā, Bh., p. 68) '(my) father smiled, he knew me, perhaps better than I myself did.'

Us samay rah-rah kar bijlī camak rahī thī aur bādal bhī garaj rahe the. Aisā l a g t ā t h ā pānī phir zor se barsegā (Sinh, G., p. 40) 'at that time, there was a flash of lightning every now and then and it was thundering; it looked it was going to rain hard again.'

Lalit skūl mẽ p a ṛ h t ā t h ā. Dulārī bhī garl-skūl mẽ paṛhne jāyā kartī thī. Vah garl-skūl kī gāṛī par baiṭhkar skūl j ā t ī t h ī. Lalit kabhī-kabhī mārg mẽ use paricit kī tarah d e k h t ā t h ā (Vyās, pp. 2-3) 'Lalit was studying in a school. Dulārī, too, was attending a girls' school. She usually went to school in a carriage of the girls' school. Lalit was sometimes looking out for her on the way like an acquaintance.'

13,2. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are used in the imperfect tense-form under the same conditions as with the 1st habitual:[197]

paune sāt baje tak ham ko ek halkā nāśtā m i l j ā t ā t h ā, aur sāt baje ham gā̃v mẽ nirmāṇ-kāry[(a)] karne ke lie ravānā h o j ā t e t h e. Kuvẽ kī cārõ or kī safāī, gā̃v mẽ galiyõ kī safāī ādi-ādi nirmāṇ-kāry[(a)] ke antargat ātā thā. Ham tīn ghaṇṭe tak yah kām karte the, jis ke bīc lagbhag 15 minaṭ kā av(a)kāś miltā thā. Phir ham vāpas apne khemõ mẽ sāṛhe das baje tak p a h ũ c j ā t e t h e aur 11 baje tak nahā-dhokar khāne ke lie taiyār h o j ā t e t h e (Rameś, p. 14) 'up to 6.45 we (always) got our breakfast and at seven o'clock we (always) set out for the village to take up (our) work at promoting social welfare. This included cleaning work around the well, in the lanes of the village, etc. We were engaged in this work for three hours with a pause of about 15 minutes. Then up to 10.30 we (always) returned to our tents and up to eleven o'clock, after having had a wash, we (always) got ready for our meal.'

thoṛī-thoṛī dūr par jaṅglī ādmiyõ kī bastiyā̃ m i l j ā t ī t h ī̃. Un kī jhopṛiyõ se ḍhol aur bā̃surī kī mīṭhī-mīṭhī āvāzẽ ā j ā t ī t h ī̃ (Premcand[3], p. 32) 'at small distances (from one another), there were villages of people living in the jungle (appearing one after another). Pleasing sounds of drum and pipe were coming (always *or* each time came) from their small huts.'

Śekhar din mẽ solah-solah ghaṇṭe paṛhtā thā, aur tab uṭhtā thā, jab ki us kā mastiṣk bilkul t h a k j ā t ā t h ā, kām se javāb de detā thā (Ajñey[1], p. 181) 'Śekhar was studying for 16 hours a day, and only left off when his brains were completely exhausted and failed to work.'

14,1. The 1st subjunctive[198] expresses a possible action in general: a request, command, or a wish that can be fulfilled, uncertainty or deliberation at the present time, and, in particular, an action that would be realized if a certain condition were fulfilled, or an action that is represented as condition (in conditional clauses).

Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are rather often used in the form of the 1st subjunctive. Some examples:

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[197] Cf. above, at no. 12,2.

[198] *Sambhāvy[(a)] bhaviṣyat(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 361; Greaves, pp. 208 491; Scholberg, p. 89; Sharma, S., p. 169. - Contingent Future: Kellogg, pp. 228 seq., 233; Greaves, pp. 208, 491; Scholberg, pp. 78, 83, 89; Sharma, S., p. 169. - Aorist: Tisdall, p. 102. - Optative: Sharma, A., p 74. - Present Subjunctive: Bailey[2], p. 21. - Present Subjunctive or Conditional: Bailey[3], p. 46. - Subjunctive: Harley, p. 13. - Subjunktiv: Spies, pp. 39, 118. - Einfacher Subjunktiv: Lienhard, pp. 193-205. - Настоящее время сослагательного наклонения: Barannikov[1], pp. 83 seq.; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273 seq., l276; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 796. - Простая форма сослагательного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 60; Katenina[2], p. 1323; Dymšic[1], p. 76; Dymšic[2], p. 1093. - Subjunktiv I. (jednoduchý) 1st or Simple Subjunctive: Pořízka[1], p. 213; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

śāyad kisī se kuch madad m i l j ā e (Premcand[3], p. 32) ‘perhaps someone may help me in some way or other.’

dekho dost, agar mujhe kuch h o j ā e, to merā ghar tum le lenā (NBhT[1], p. 9) ‘look, (my) friend, should something happen to me, then you take my house.’

ye to cāhte haĩ ki sārā-sārā din garmī mẽ cūlhe ke pās baiṭhī rahũ̃, bīmār h o j ā ũ̃ aur m a r j ā ũ̃ (Aśk[3], p. 470) ‘they want me to remain sitting in heat at the cooking place all day long, so that I may fall ill and die.’

14,2. The 2nd subjunctive[199] is infrequent even with unmodified verbs. Its meaning may be illustrated by this example:

Jise duśman ke bhay ke māre rāt ko nĩ̃d na ā t ī h o, jis ke duḥkh[(a)] par sab hãsẽ aur ronevālā koī na ho, jis kī coṭī dūsrõ ke pairõ ke nīce dabī ho, jo bhogvilās ke naśe mẽ apne ko bilkul bhūl gayā ho, jo hukkām ke talve c ā ṭ t ā h o aur apne adhīnõ kā k̲hūn c ū s t ā h o, use maĩ sukhī nahĩ̃ kahtā (Premcand[1], p. 15) ‘At night, he is not able to fall asleep for fear of his enemy; when he is unhappy, all laugh at him and nobody weeps for him; the top of his head is trodden under the feet of others; he forgot himself completely in the intoxication of enjoyments and delights; he licks the soles of the feet of rulers and sucks the blood of his own subjects: such a man cannot be said to be happy;’ lit., ‘I do not call happy the man who, at night, is not able to fall asleep ...’

15,1. In the 1st future,[200] modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are rather frequent:

maĩ śīghr[(a)] āũ̃gī ... Maĩ kahtī hũ̃, maĩ abhī ā j ā ũ̃ g ī (Kumār[2], p. 338) ‘I’ll come soon ... I say I’ll come at once;’ realization of the action pointed out.

vah dam bhar mẽ ā j ā e g ā (Nehrū, M., p. 355) ‘he will come in a moment.’

Śekhar ne pūchā, "Rāstā kidhar se hai?" - "Udhar sīdhe. Thoṛī dūr jākar ek tālāb āegā, vahã̃ se dāhine muṛ jānā, tab skūl ā j ā e g ā. Vahã̃ se to patā hai na?’ (Ajñey[1], p. 99) »Śekhar asked: "Which way should I go?" - ‘That way, straight on. Not far away (from here) there is (lit., ‘will come’) a tank, there turn to the right, then you will come to a school (lit., ‘a school will come’). From there you know your way, don’t you?’«

use ṭhaṇḍ l a g j ā e g ī (Ajñey[1], p. 80) ‘he will catch a cold.’

kīsī bhī ḍibbe par c a ṛ h j ā ẽ g e (Kumār[1], p. 127) ‘he will get into any carriage (of the train).’

Aśok - ... kyā yah yuddh band h o j ā e g ā, (kaṭār lekar) kyā ye astr[(a)]-śastr[(a)] samāpt h o j ā ẽ g e, kyā ye saṅgharṣ m i ṭ j ā ẽ g e ? (Prabhākar[5], p. 108) »Aśok: "...will this war come to an end, (he takes a dagger), will these weapons be annihilated, will these fights disappear?"«

āj ko tum se laṛ gaī, kal ko dūsrõ se l a ṛ j ā e g ī (Premcand[1], p. 32) ‘today, she has had a quarrel with you, tomorrow, she will quarrel with others.’

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[199] *Sambhāvy[(a)] vart(a)mān(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 364; Greaves, pp. 209, 492. - Contingent Imperfect: Kellogg, pp. 228, 235; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, pp. 80, 83; Sharma, S., p. 159. - Present Potential: Sharma, A., p. 75. - Continuous Present Subjunctive or Conditional: Bailey[3], p. 47. - Kontingentes Präsens: Spies, pp. 112, 119. - Imperfektiver Subjunktiv: Lienhard, p. 198. - Настоящее сложное время сослагательного наклонения: Barannikov[1], pp. 92 seq.; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1278; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 798. - Несовершенная форма сослагательного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 64; Katenina[2], p. 1327. - Сложная несовершенная форма сослагательного наклонения: Dymšic[1], p. 77; Dymšic[2], p. 1094. -. Subjunktiv II. (nedokonavý), 2nd (or Imperfect) Subjunctive: Pořízka[1], p. 229; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[200] *Sāmāny[(a)] bhaviṣyat(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 362; Greaves, pp. 208, 491; Scholberg, p. 90; Sharma, S., pp. 33, 167. - Absolute Future: Kellogg, pp. 228, 230, 233; Greaves, pp. 208, 491; Scholberg, pp. 79, 83, 90. - Simple Future: Sharma, S., pp. 33, 167. - Indicative Future: Sharma, A., pp. 67 seq. - Future: Tisdall, p. 102; Bailey[2], p. 13; Bailey[3], p. 44; Harley, p. 12. - Futur: Spies, pp. 40, 118. - Einfaches Futurum: Lienhard, p. 209. - Будущее первое время: Barannikov[1], p. 84; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1275 seq.; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 795 seq. - Простое будущее время изъявительного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 60; Katenina[2], p. 1323. - Будущее I (простое будущее время): Dymšic[1], p. 70; Dymšic[2], pp. 1077, 1085. - Futurum I., 1st Future: Pořízka[1], pp. 226 seq.; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

use lagā ki yadi log j ā n j ā ẽ g e ki vah kis viśeṣ sthān par baiṭhā thā, to vah lajjā se ḍūb maregā (Ajñey[1], p. 72) 'he had the impression that if people came to know on what peculiar place he had been sitting (*on the pedestal of a statue in the museum*), he would drown himself from shame.'

15,2. Thus, in Hindī, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may take the present-tense form, or the future-tense form, as well as the form of other tenses. In Czech, Polish, and Russian, on the other hand, perfective verbs have no particular future-tense forms to denote a perfective action in the future: the present tense of perfective verbs serves the purpose. But Lithuanian, unlike Slavonic languages, has not only perfective present-tense forms, but also perfective future-tense forms.[201]

15,3. The 2nd future[202] most often occurs in reserved statements expressing an uncertain, but probable idea or conjecture that will presumably prove true. The statement refers to the present time, sometimes to the past. With the verb 'to come', the action is expected as most likely in the next future.[203]

Śār(a)dā is samay kyā k a r t ī h o g ī ? Śāyad p a ṛ h t ī h o g ī (Ajñey[1], p. 180) 'What Śāradā may be doing now? No doubt she is studying.'

āp log mujhe na j ā n t e h õ g e, par maĩ āp logõ ko pahcāntī hū̃ (Sinh, Ś., p. 46) 'probably you do not know me, but I do recognize you.'

vah to kahī̃ gaye hue haĩ ... Ab ā t e hī h õ g e (Premcand[2], p. 38) 'he has gone somewhere ... I suppose he will come at once.'

use to ham ne dahī lene ko bhejā hai. Ā t ā hī h o g ā (Nehrū, M., p. 355) 'I have sent him for curdled milk. I suppose he will come at once.'

15,4. Even in the 2nd future, a modified verbal expression with *jānā* may sometimes be met with:

vah kabhī socā kartā hai, itnī dūr calte-calte Śār(a)dā t h a k j ā t ī h o g ī (Ajñey[1], p. 171) 'he sometimes thinks that Śāradā must (always) get tired, when she walks such a long way.'

16,1. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the imperative:

Gopālprasād - Baiṭho beṭī! - Rāmsvarūp - Vahā̃ b a i ṭ h j ā o, Umā (Māthur, p. 114) »Gopālprasād: "Sit down, my girl!" - Rāmsvarūp: - "Umā, sit down there ..."« Here the modified verbal expression points out the realization of the action; but direction of the action may also be meant, and an "inverted sequence of actions" may be implied.[204]

āp baiṭhiye ... B a i ṭ h j ā i y e, āp khaṛe kyõ haĩ? (Aśk[1], p. 47) 'please sit down ... Please sit down, why are you standing?;' attention directed to the action to be realized.

āo, mitr[(a)]. Merī god mẽ ā j ā o (Prabhākar[2], p. 30) 'come (my) friend. Come into my arms;' the action pointed out.

āp acchī tarah b a i ṭ h j ā i y e. Idhar ā j ā i y e (Kumār[5], p. 57) 'please sit down comfortably. Please come here.'

andar ā j ā i y e. Tūfān ā rahā hai (Prabhākar[7], p. 110) 'please come in. The storm is coming.'

lo, taiyār h o j ā o (Kumār[4], p. 115) 'well, get ready!'

m ā n j ā o. Yah golī sir mẽ lagegī (Kumār[3], p. 6) 'believe that this bullet will hit your head.'

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[201] Cf. Dambriūnas, p. 258; see below, at no. 29,4.

[202] *Sandigdh[(a)] vart(a)mān(kāl):* Guru, pp. 349, 364; Greaves, pp. 209, 492; Scholberg, p. 91. - Presumptive Imperfect: Kellog, pp. 228, 235; Greaves, pp. 209, 402; Scholberg, pp. 80, 84, 91. - Continuative Future: Tisdall, p. 101. - Doubtful Present: Tisdall, p. 116. - Continuous Future or Present Presumptive: Bailey[3], p. 44. - Present Presumptive: Sharma, A., pp. 76-77. - Futurisches Präsens: Spies, pp. 113, 119. - Будущее второе время: Barannikov[1], p. 89; Barannikov[2], pp. 1273, 1277; Beskrovnyj[4], pp. 792, 797; Dymšic[1], p. 71; Dymšic[2], pp. 1077, 1087. - Несовершенная форма предположительного наклонения: Katenina[1], p. 64; Katenina[2], pp. 1326-1327. - Futurum II. (nedokonavé) - 2nd (or Imperfect) Future: Pořízka[1], p. 228; see also the conspectus of finite verb-forms added to this treatise.

[203] Cf. Liperovskij, p. 37.

[204] Cf. above, at no. 10,3, and below, at no. 25,5.

17,1. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in the form of an infinitive used as a substantive:

us ke ā j ā n e kī pratīkṣā kar rahī hai jo kahe 'Tere binā maĩ jīũgā nahĩ' (Kumār[5], p. 133‘)‘ »she is waiting for (lit., ‘expecting the arrival of) a man who will come and say: "I'll not live without you."«

ab pitā ko l a u ṭ j ā n e de (Sinh, L., p. 65) ‘now let (your) father go back.’

mitr[(a)] ke m a r j ā n e par (Śarmā, Y., p. 82) ‘at the death of a friend.’

kisī apne sāthī ke akasmāt koī baṛī coṭ l a g j ā n e par us kā mitr[(a)] use sahānubhūtipūrṇ[(a)] patr[(a)] likhtā hai (Śarmā, Y., p. 79) ‘a friend writes a letter of condolescence to a friend of his who suddenly received a severe wound,’ lit., ‘... after a severe wound of a friend of his.’

āp se paricay h o j ā n e se mujhe baṛī prasann(a)tā huī hai (Sinh, Ś., p. 13) ‘I am much pleased to get acquainted with you,’ lit., ‘pleasure has arisen from the arising of acquaintance.’

17,2. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in the form of an adjectival infinitive (gerundive, future passive participle) :

yah haṛtāl kẖatm h o j ā n ī cāhiye (NBhT[2], p. 1) ‘this strike must be brought to an end.’

bāt yahā̃ samāpt h o j ā n ī cāhiye thī (Ajñey[1], p. 224) ‘there the matter should have been brought to an end.’

coṭ aisī nahĩ hai, lekin tumhẽ fauran ā j ā n ā hai (Kumār[5], p. 164) ‘the wound is not so serious, but you must come at once.’

pīṛā kam nahĩ hogī. Par us ko s a h j ā n ā hogā (Kumār[3], p. 141) ‘the pain will not be slight. But it will be necessary to bear it.’

17,3. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in the form of an infinitive used as an imperative:

kẖair, jāo, magar das minaṭ ke andar ā j ā n ā (Premcand[2], p. 6) ‘well, go, but come within ten minutes.’

jab cāhnā yahā̃ ā j ā n ā, yah ghar tumhārā hai (Miśra[1], p. 124) ‘come, whenever you want to, this house belongs to you.’

thoṛī dūr jākar ek tālāb āegā, vahā̃ se dāhine m u ṛ j ā n ā (Ajñey[1], p. 99) ‘not far away (from here) there is a tank, there turn to the right.’

18,1. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the 1st (imperfective, present) participle used adverbiaily in a participial construction:

pānī k h a u l j ā t e hī cāy par ḍhāl dījiye (Sarasvatī) ‘as soon as the water begins to boil, pour it on the tea;’ directions for preparing tea.

18,2. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle used attributively:

ek dhadhaktī huī netr[(a)]hīn anubhūti se dīvār ko bhedkar vah dekhtā hai, mā̃ kī mukh-mudrā, un kī ā̃khõ kā ekāek t h a m g a y ā sā bhāv aur Śekhar kī or iṅgit kiyā huā aṅgūṭhā (Ajñey[1], p. 184) ‘by a sort of a glowing non-visual experience he pierces the wall and sees (his) mother’s countenance, the (almost) stark expression of her eyes and (her) finger pointing to Śekhar.’

18,3. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle in the predicate with the copula:

apne āp mẽ us kā viśvās ṭ ū ṭ g a y ā h u ā hai (Ajñey[1], p. 135) ‘his trust is broken altogether,’ lit., ‘in itself,’ ‘in its substance.’

18,4. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle used complementally:

Tīsrā pahar? Dhūp kam nahĩ huī, aur bhī tīkhī h o g a ī jān paṛtī hai (Ajñey[1], p. 143) ‘The afternoon? The heat of the sun has not diminished, it seems still hotter,’ lit., ‘having become hotter.’

18,5. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the strengthened absolutive used in an absolutival construction:

Yah soc man ke bhītar baṛī ṭīs paīdā kar detā. Par usī ko jī mẽ bahut nīce gāṛ dekar aur kām mẽ l a g j ā k a r vah mānõ thoṛā ārām bhī anubhav kartī (Kumār[5], p. 125) 'This thought was causing a great pain in her heart (again and again). But she usually buried it very deep in her soul and (always) resumed her work and so she (usually) experienced even some relief.'

18,6. Modified verbal expression with jānā in the form of a verbal adjective:

kyõki byāh sirf bātcīt kī bāt nahĩ rah gayā hai; vah sacmuc kuch hī dinõ mẽ sampann[(a)] h o j ā n e v ā l ā hai aur sac bāt ke bāre mẽ bahut mukhar nahĩ huā jātā (Kumār[5], p. 227) 'because matters did not stop there that they were discussing the marriage in (their) talks; the marriage is really due to take place within short, and one does not talk much about what is true.'

19,1. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the periphrastic passive:

muṣṭi-prahār kā av(a)sar āe, to kyā us se bhaybhīt h o j ā y ā j ā e ? (Kumār[5], p. 50) 'should he (*scil. a man knowing the truth*) get frightened when he is threatened with blows?,' lit., 'when the time of fists (and) blows comes.'

For *l e j ā y ā j ā n ā*, see below, at no. 21.3.

19,2. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle in *-ā* combined with *karnā:*

maĩ yahã akelī paṛī rahtī hũ, kabhī-kabhī ā j ā y ā k a r o na (Ajñey[1], p. 193) 'I am here alone all the time, do come (to see me) sometimes.'

do ek mahīne maĩ idhar hī rahũgī, ā j ā y ā k a r ũ g ī (Prabhākar[4], p. 119) 'I'll remain here for one month or two, I'll come (to your place frequently).'

merī darkẖāst manzūr kījiye, kabhī-kabhī taśrīf lākar mujh se m i l j ā y ā k a r ẽ (Bailey[1], p. 49) 'I hope you'll agree to my request and sometimes come to see me.'

tab mã hī thĩ, jinhõ se unhẽ bādhy[(a)] kiyā thā ki ve niyam se āsan lagākar pūjā ke sthān mẽ b a iṭ h j ā y ā k a r ẽ, aur pūjā kī kriyāẽ pūrī kiyā karẽ (Ajñey[1], p. 124) 'then, there was the mother (there), who forced them (*scil. the boys*) to sit down (always) in the due posture at the place of worship and to perform all the religious acts.'

tumhāre darśan to h o j ā y ā k a r ẽ g e (Nehrū, M., p. 457) '(at least) I shall (always) see you.'

mard na jāne striyõ ke pīche pāgal kyõ h o j ā y ā k a r t e h a ĩ (Sinh, G., p. 19) 'God knows why men are in the habit of running mad after women.'

As actions forming a series may be conceived as perfective, they may be denoted by verbal forms expressing the perfective verbal aspect, i.e., by modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in Hindī, and by perfective verb-forms in Slavonic language and in Lithuanian.[205]

19,3. Modified verbal expression with *jānā* in the form of the absolutive with *saknā* 'to be able to (do something)':

āj yah soc rahī hai ki vah āmantraṇ-pūrvak apne premī ke hāthõ m a r kyõ nahĩ j ā s a k ī (Kumār[5], p. 134) 'today, she is thinking about why she was not able to die by hands of her beloved as he invited (her to do).'

20,1. As to the external structure of modified verbal expressions, it is worth notice that the simple absolutive of the main verb is rather often separated from *jānā* by such words as *hī* (emphatic particle), *sā, sī, se* in the sense of 'as it were', 'almost', *kyõ* 'why', etc.:

jis bāt kā mujhe bhay thā vah ant mẽ h o hī g a ī (Varmā, Bh., p. 100) 'what I had been afraid of did finally happen.'

[205] Cf. above, at nos. 12,2; 13,2; and below, at nos. 29,4; 29,6.

Rāmeśvar m a r sā g a y ā (Kumār[1], p. 6) ‘Rāmeśvar was shocked,’ lit., ‘R. almost died,’ ‘R., as it were, died.’

phir apne vicārõ mẽ k h o sā g a y ā (Sinh, G., p.62) ‘he, as it were, got lost in his thoughts again.’

maĩ tumhārī tar(a)f dekhtī hữ, to b h ā g kyõ j ā t e h o phir ? (Ajñey[1], p. 192) why do you run away when(ever) I look towards you?’

m a r kyõ nahĩ j ā sakī (Kumār[5], p. 134) ‘why she was not able to die,’ cf. above, at no. 19,3.

tab bhī chaṭhe-chamāhe ā vah zarūr j ā t e (Nāgārjun, p. 10) ‘but of course he did come now and then.’

20,2. On the other hand, a simple absolutive may happen to precede the verb *jānā* immediately and lose both its lexical meaning and the function of a main verb, without forming with *jānā* any combination whatever. This occurs when the absolutive is used as a grammatical word:

mere apne sthān se ṭale binā hī anekõ log mere pās se h o jāte haĩ (Ajñey[2], p. 125) ’many people walk past me, but I myself do not move from my place.’

20,3. Similarly, the verb *rahnā* ‘to remain’ may happen to be preceded by a simple absolutive used as a grammatical word. Then, the two verbs do not form any combination at all, neither a close one, nor a loose one:

vah puruṣ h o rahnā cāhtī hai, kyõki vah strī hai. Us kī vr̥tti jokham ḍhữrhtī hai (Kumār[3], p. 104) ‘she wishes to live as a man, because she is a woman. She is inclined to look for danger.’

ham sab ek h o rahẽ (Prasād, p. 30) ‘let us all live in unity,’ lit., ‘as one (man).’

21,1. T. Grahame Bailey writes: "If the simple verb has two or three allied ideas, the compound with *jānā* limits itself to one, and refers to only one occasion."[206] Thus, the fact that modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may denote a multiplied (repeated) action has escaped his notice.[207] Besides, Bailey disregarded the fact that, in the texts of his own textbooks, one and the same modified verbal expression with *jānā* sometimes occurs in meanings hardly to be called "one idea":[208]

ab rāt p a ṛ g a ī (Bailey[1], p. 38) ‘now night came on.’

vah khānā jo sāt yā āṭh baje khāte haĩ, us kā nām hī khānā p a ṛ g a y ā (Bailey[1], p. 30) ‘the meal which comes at seven or eight is called simply "meal" (dinner).’

gữv ke makān kīsī qad(a)r taṅg hote haĩ, aur taṅgī kī vajah se bīmārī āsānī se l a g j ā t ī h a i (Bailey[1], p. 54) ‘village houses are rather small, and because of their smallness disease spreads easily.’

lekin ise to phir bhī itne din l a g j ā t e h a ĩ (Bailey[1], p. 39) ‘even so it (*scil. a letter*) takes so many days (to arrive).’

ghar mẽ āg l a g g a ī (Bailey[3], p. 111) ‘the house caught fire.’

aur phir vah socne l a g g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 160) ‘and he began to think again.’

Anyhow, T. Grahame Bailey seems to have had in view the fact that the semantic content of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* does not always coincide with that of their unmodified counterparts. This point is worth more detailed consideration (see the following paragraphs).

21,2. In some modified verbal expressions with *jānā*, the semantic content of the absolutive of the main verb is restricted.[209] In other ones, on the other hand, more nuances are added to the meaning of the main verb. T. Grahame Bailey mentions *rah jānā* ‘to stay for good’, ‘to be left behind’ as counterpart of *rahnā* ‘to stay’.[210] Platts presents several more meanings as distinguishing *rah jānā* from *rahnā*.[211] The semantic difference may disappear or become evident in compliance with the idea expressed in the context:[212]

[206] Bailey[3], p. 72.
[207] Cf. above, at no. 10,7.
[208] Transcription modified to agree with that used in this paper.
[209] Cf. below, at nos. 24,1 seqq.; 24,7 seq.
[210] Bailey[3], p. 73.
[211] Platts, p. 610, s. v. *rahnā.*
[212] For a detailed discussion, see Hacker[3], pp. 222-230.

byāh sirf bātcīt kī bāt nahĩ r a h g a y ā h a i; vah sacmuc kuch hī dinõ mẽ sampann[(a)] ho jāne vālā hai (Kumār[5], p. 227) 'matters did not stop there that they were discussing the marriage in (their) talks; the marriage is really due to take place within short.'

mahilā jātī hai. Puruṣ musk(a)rātā r a h j ā t ā h a i (Kumār, p. 338) 'the woman goes away. The man remains (on the spot) and smiles;' narrator's speech.

sab log citr[(a)]-likhe se r a h j ā t e h a ĩ (Bhaṭṭ, p. 70) 'all of them become, as it were, stupefied,' lit., 'remain as though drawn on a picture;' scenic present.

21,3. In looser combinations, the verb *jānā* always adds a particular semantic feature to the meaning of the main verb. In such cases, however, *jānā* is not grammaticalized, and no perfective verbal expression is formed, though the meaning of the main verb may be modified in some way or other. The expression remains neutral in respect of verbal aspect; it has no adequate aspectual counterpart in the unmodified verb:[213]

sāb cīzẽ l e j ā o (Kumār[3], p. 12) 'take all (these) things away,' lit., 'having taken, go;' here, the verb *jānā* retains the sense of 'going'.

jab sādhū ne dekhā - unhẽ 'andar' l e j ā y ā j ā r a h ā h a i, to use tanik vismay huā, saṅkoc bhī. Pūchā - Kahā̃ l e j ā r a h e h o? (Kumār[1], p. 119) »when sādhu (*Hindū mendicant ascetic*) saw that he is being taken in, he was a little surprised and also embarrassed. He asked: "Where are you taking me?"«

Harvan Śrīnagar kā jalāgār hai, jahā̃ se pīne kā pānī Śrīnagar l e j ā y ā j ā t ā h a i (Dinkar, p. 30) 'Harvan is the reservoir of Srinagar: from there, drinking water is being brought to Srinagar.'

caudh(a)rī ko turant l e j ā y ā g a y ā (Kumār[3], p, 58) 'Chaudhrī was immediately taken in.'

Sarasvatī ne us ke māthe par hāth rakhā, aur use dhīre-dhīre nīce l e j ā t e h u e Śekhar kī ā̃khẽ band kar dī̃ (Ajñey[1], p. 151) 'Sarasvatī put her hand on his forehead, and moving it slowly downwards, she shut Śekhhar's eyes.'

De jānā 'to give and go away,' 'to leave' (a thing behind for someone):

khānā khākar palaṅg par leṭ gayā. Śrīm(a)tī pān d e g a ĩ (Kumār[1], p. 35) 'after dinner, I went to bed. (My) wife left (my) betel (and went away).'

jī nahĩ, vah nahĩ ā sakẽge. Hā̃ yah patr[(a)] d e g a y e h a ĩ (Prabhākar[4], p. 110) 'no, he won't be able to come. But of course, he has left this letter (before going away).'

22,1. The modified verbal expression with *jānā* may serve to point out the beginning of an action when the ingressive meaning squares with the sense of the unmodified verb and is required by the context or situation. Thus, with the verb *paṛnā* in the sense of 'to become', 'to set in', sometimes alternating with *honā*[214] 'to become':

bīmār p a ṛ ā, dā̃tõ ne kaṣṭ diyā (Premcand[4], p. 49) 'I fell ill, (my) teeth were troubling me.'

is dukh se maĩ bīmār p a ṛ j ā ū̃ g ā (Miśra[1], p. 125) 'I'll fall ill with this worry'.

ek bār us kā mā̃jhlā bhāī bīmār h u ā, aur bahut bīmār h u ā (Ajñey[1], p. 61) 'once his second brother fell ill, very ill.'

ye to cāhte haĩ ki ... bīmār h o j ā ū̃ (Aśk[3], p. 470) 'they want me ... to fall ill.'[215]

tū ekāek pīlī kyõ p a ṛ g a ī h a i ? (Prabhākar[7], p. 158) 'why have you turned pale all at once?'

cehrā pīlā p a ṛ j ā t ā h a i (Bhatt, p.63) 'he turns pale,' lit., '(his) face turns pale'; scenic present.

krodh se lāl h o j ā t ā h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 457) 'he turns red with anger'; scenic present.

jab ek bār abhyās p a ṛ j ā t ā h a i, to phir ādmī har kām mẽ leṭ hotā hai (Gupt, p. 4) 'when one has once fallen into the habit (of being late), then one is late in doing anything,' lit., 'when the habit once arises, then ...'; present used in a general statement.

ek bār ādat p a ṛ j ā e, to chuṭṭī nahĩ hai (Abbās[1], p. 35) 'when one has once fallen into a habit, one cannot get rid of it,' lit., 'when a habit once arises, it is not got rid of.'

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[213] Cf. above, at no. 1,93, and below, at no. 25,2.

[214] For *ho jānā*, see above, at nos. 10,5-6, and below, at no. 24,2. - For Czech perfective verbs pointing out the beginning of an action see, e.g., Kopečný[1], p. 118, § 116,2; p. 125, § 124,2; p. 126-127, § 125.

[215] For the whole quotation, see above, at no. 14,1.

22,2. The verb *lagnā* ‘to stick’ (intr.):

kal se hī kisī kām mẽ l a g j ā ű g ā (Kumār[1], p. 1) ‘just tomorrow, I’ll set about doing something.’
flū bebī ko l a g j ā e g ā. Baccõ ko chūt kī bīmārī bahut jaldī l a g t ī h a i (Prabhākar[7], p. 56) ‘the baby will get influenza. Children get an infectious disease very easily,’ lit., ‘very quickly.’

22,3. The verb *khaulnā* ‘to boil’ (intr.) :

pānī k h a u l j ā t e hī cāy par ḍhāl dījiye (Sarasvatī) ‘as soon as the water begins to boil, pour it on the tea;’ directions for preparing tea.

23,1. The verb *sonā* ‘to sleep’, ‘to lie down to sleep’, ‘to go to sleep’,[216] in a negative sentence also ‘not to fall asleep’:

aur jab aur kuch śeṣ na rahā tab becārā māsṭar apnī khāṭ par ā rahā ki s o e (Kumār, p. 17) and when there was no other work left, the poor teacher went to sleep,’ lit., ‘having come to his bedstead, remained (there) to (lie down to) sleep.’
bas huā, ab s o o. Mālūm hai kyā bajā hai? Do hogā ... Sabere calnā bhī hai. Sunā nahī̃ ... Bistar kholo aur so jāo (Kumār[5], p. 174) ‘don’t say any more, now, go to sleep. Do you know what time it is? I’ll be two o’clock. ... And at dawn, we have to set out (on our journey). Didn’t you hear? ... Undo (your) bedding and go to sleep’.
maĩ khojtī phirī. Maĩ rāt s o ī n a h ī̃ (Kumār[2], p. 340) ‘I was walking about, looking (for you). I did not sleep in the night’.
Sunandā: "... maĩ rāt bhar n a h ī̃ s o ī." - Harīś: ‘Maĩ bhī rāt bhar n a h ī̃ s o y ā h ű, sotā bhī kaise.’ (Prabhākar[7], p. 77). »Sunandā: "... for the whole night, I didn’t fall asleep." - Harīś: ‘I didn’t fall asleep all the night either. How could I have slept!’«

23,2. The expression *so jānā* means ‘to go to sleep’; ‘to fall asleep’:

āp ko nī̃d ā rahī hai? Sonā cāhẽ, lījiye, s o j ā i y e (Kumār[5], p. 57) ‘do you feel sleepy? If you want to sleep, look, go to sleep.’
donõ laṛkiyā̃ āṭh bajte-bajte khā-pīkar s o g a ī̃ (Premcand[1], p. 109) ‘on the stroke of eight, both girls had their meal and went to sleep.’
vah cāhte the, s o j ā ẽ aur Puṣpā bhī s o j ā e (Kumār[5], p. 168) ‘he wished to go to sleep and wanted Puṣpā to go to sleep, too.’
kuch karvaṭẽ badalkar s o j ā t ī h a i, phir svapn[(a)] dekhtī hai (Nehrū, M., p. 454) ‘she turns from one side on to the other several times, then she falls asleep and has a dream;’ scenic present.
kabhī bhaṇḍār-ghar mẽ baiṭhe-baiṭhe s o g a ī (Varmā, Bh., p. 90) ‘sometimes, sitting in the storeroom, she fell asleep.’

23,3. The meaning of *so rahnā* is, approximately, ‘to go to sleep’. It, however, involves the idea of ‘remaining’, either in the sense of ‘to remain and go to sleep’ (with an "inverted sequence of actions"),[217] or, on the contrary, in that of ‘to go to sleep and remain (sleeping)’:

tum jāo, maĩ s o r a h ű g ī (Nehrū, M., p. 454) ‘you go, I’ll (remain and) sleep.’
kahī̃ acchā thā ki kuch khākar s o r a h t ī (Aśk[3], p. 471) ‘it would have been much better for her to (remain at home,) have some repast, and go to sleep.’
acchā, jā, s o r a h (Premcand[1], p. 113) ‘well, go, go to bed.’
ākhir s o r a h e g ā (Bailey[1], p. 58) ‘finally he will go to sleep.’
maĩ lauṭke s o r a h ű g ā (Bailey[3], p. 77) ‘I shall go to sleep when I return.’

23,4. The expression *so rahā hű:*

y e s o r a h e h a ī̃ yā soc rahe haĩ? (Kumār[5], p. 62) ‘is he sleeping, or thinking?’
"Satya dādā kahā̃ hai?" - ‘Ūpar s o r a h ā h a i’ (Kumār[4], p. 66-67). »"Where is Satya dādā (approximately: ‘uncle Satya’)?" - ‘He is sleeping upstairs.’«

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[216] Cf. Bailey[3], p. 72: *sonā* - sleep, go to sleep.
[217] Cf. below, at no. 25,5.

Sunayanā kī ā̃khẽ mū̃dī haĩ, par s o nahĩ̃ r a h ī h a i (Kumār[1], p. 159) 'Sunayanā's eyes are shut, but she is not sleeping.'

23,5. The expression *so lenā:*

thoṛā dūdh pīkar s o l o (Kumār[3], p. 11) 'have a little drink of milk and go to sleep.'

23,6. The sense of 'I am going (away to go) to bed' may be unambiguously expressed by the phrase *sone jānā:*

... acchā, ab ham s o n e j ā t e haĩ (Kumār, p. 31) '... well, I am going to bed now.'
jab vah s o n e j ā t ā, to kahtā - "Bahin, tumhẽ nī̃d lagī hai" (Ajñey[1], p. 148) »whenever he was going to bed, he (always) said: "Sister, you are feeling sleepy."«

23,7. In the sense of 'not to fall asleep', the phrase 'sleep does not come' is often used:

us rāt khuśī ke māre Ūśā ko nī̃d na āī (Abbās[1], p. 77) 'in that night, Ūshā did not fall asleep for joy.'

23,8. In the older language, the expression *soi jā-* (equivalent to modern *so jānā)* combines with the absolutive *pari* (from *par-* 'to fall', equivalent to modern *paṛnā).* The combination means 'to fall asleep'. Thus, in Padumāvatī, an Eastern Hindī (Avadhī) text of the l6th century, we read:

khāi kurakuṭā g ā p a r i s ō ī (Dhar, p. 66) 'having eaten the crumbs he fell asleep' (Dhar, p. 163).
pī na aghāi, j ā i p a r i s ō ī (Dhar, p. 83) 'he is never satisfied with drinking untill he falls asleep' (Dhar, p. 172).

24,1. In some modified verbal expressions with *jānā,* the semantic content of the absolutive of the main verb is restricted. These expressions generally appear in affirmative declarative sentences; in interrogative sentences, these expressions are less frequent, and, in negative sentences they are uncommon, unmodified verbs being used instead.

Thus, as regards semantic (but not aspectual) significance, the unmodified verb fulfils the same function in a negative sentence as the modified verbal expression does in an affirmative sentence. Consequently, the restriction of the semantic content of the main verb is not the very raison d'être of these modified verbal expressions. After all, instances are found showing that, even in an affirmative sentence, a modified verbal expression may alternate with an unmodified verb and no different lexical meaning is expressed. Hence, a restricted meaning may also be signified by an unmodified verb, scil. in the case when the restriction is evident from the context or situation.

24,2. When an unmodified verb involves both the idea of a state and that of an action, the meaning of the respective modified verbal expression with *jānā* is restricted so as to signify the action only, the action being presented as perfective:

honā 1) 'to be'; in this meaning, it is never expressive of perfectiveness;

2) 'to become', 'to happen': in this meaning, it is unmarked with regard to perfectiveness: it may denote an action in progress at the moment, or an action as a whole, i.e. it may denote a perfective action by virtue of context or situation;

ho jānā 'to become', 'to happen'; the expression is marked with regard to perfectiveness.

The Old Slavonic *byti* has also double meaning, but, simultaneously, double aspect: in the sense of *esse*, it is imperfective, in the sense of *fieri,* it is perfective.[218]

[218] Cf. Dostál, p. 146.

It is not by chance that, in both Old Slavonic and Hindī, the perfective verbal aspect is connected with the very meaning of *fieri* (in Hindī, with the very expression *ho jānā).* This is quite in conformity with the notion of the perfective verbal aspect.

A state expressed:[219]

sāmne gāṛī khaṛī h a i (Gupt, p. 4) 'in front stands a train.'

sonā to sūkhī pattī kī tarah pīlā h o t ā h a i (Premcand[1], p. 18) 'gold is yellow like a dry leaf.'

An action expressed:

mā̃ bhī yah dhyān se dekh rahī thī̃, ki foṭogrāfī kaise h o t ī h a i (Kumār[1], p. 3) 'the mother was also watching attentively how a photograph is taken,' lit., 'how photography is done.'

acchā ab der h o t ī h a i. Guḍ bāī (Nehrū, M., p. 352) 'well, it's getting late, now. Good-bye.'

ye donõ takẖt par jākar baiṭhte haĩ aur vālanṭiyar pīche khaṛe h o j ā t e h a ĩ. Sabhā-netrī khaṛī h o t ī h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 349) 'these two (*viz. the chairwoman and the young man - speaker*) go on the platform and sit down; the volunteers take their stand behind. The chairwoman of the assembly stands up;' scenic presents; the same action expressed in two ways (*khaṛe ho jāte haĩ, khaṛī hotī hai*) to avoid repetition.

Śekhar ekāek khaṛā h o j ā t ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 70) 'suddenly, Śekhar stands up'; historic present, narrator's speech.

krodh se lāl h o j ā t ā h a i (Nehrū M., p. 457) 'he turns red with anger'; scenic present.

is ṛtu mẽ sardī kam h o j ā t ī h a i (Jain[2], p. 34) 'in this season (*viz. in late winter*), the cold grows less,' lit., 'becomes less'; present expressing an action characteristic of late winter.

Preterite:[220]

dopahar mẽ gyārah baje Bhārat aur Siṅgāpur mẽ jal-polo kā maic h u ā (Kapūr, p. 17) 'at 11.00 a. m., the match at water-polo between India and Singapur took place.'

Skūl mẽ kaisī paṛhāī h u ī, vah bād kī bāt hai. Pahle to yah h u ā ki Śekhar ko batāyā gayā, kuch dinõ mẽ Bhārat mẽ vāysrāy vahā̃ āne vāle haĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 88) 'What the teaching at school was like [or: what sort of classes were given (lit. 'took place') at school] will be mentioned later on. Before that, however, it happened that Śekhar was told the Viceroy of India was to come there in some days.'

Thoṛī der mẽ ghar kī mālkin kā ānā h u ā. Abhyarth(a)nā-pūrvak baiṭhākar pūchā, "Kahā̃ se ānā h u ā? Mere lie kyā kām hai?" (Kumār[5], p. 207). »Within short, the lady of the house came (lit. 'arrival took place'). (The mother) told her respectfully to sit down and asked: "Where are you coming (lit., 'the arrival took place') from? What can I do for you" (lit., 'what work is there for me')?«

jo h u ā so h u ā (Prabhākar[4], p. 119; Gupt, p. 5) 'whatever has happened has happened ("what's done is done").'

jo h o g a y ā so h o g a y ā (Sinh, Ś., p.141) 'whatever has happened has happened ("what's done is done").

dīvālī kī pūjā samāpt h u ī (Varmā[1], p. 18) 'the Dīvālī Pūjā (*worship of Lakshmī, the goddess of wealth*) came to an end.'

samay samāpt h o g a y ā (Ṛṣi, p. 240, s. v. истекать) 'the time has come to an end.'

yahā̃ kā sab kām kẖatm h o g a y ā (Nehrū M., p. 352) 'all (my) work here has come to an end.'

usī samay use mālūm h u ā jaise koī ghar mẽ āyā hai (Kumār[5], p. 22) 'at that moment, it seemed to him that (lit. "as if") somebody had entered the house.'

bahut dinõ ke bād Dulārī ko mālūm h u ā ki us ke pitā aise deś mẽ cale gaye haĩ, jahā̃ se lauṭkar koī nahī̃ ātā (Vyās, p. 2) 'after a long time, Dulārī learnt that her father had gone to such a country where nobody returns from.'

bād ko mujhe mālūm h u ā ki yah sāhab injīniyar the (Premcand[3], p. 34) 'later on, I learnt that the gentleman had been an engineer.'

jab use mālūm h o g a y ā ki yahā̃ bilkul sannāṭā hai, to vah rẽgtā huā bacce ke samīp gayā (Premcand[3], p. 35) 'when (the alligator) found out that the place was quite deserted it crept to the kid.'

Interrogative sentences:[221]

is bīc kyā naī bāt h u ī ? (Kumār[3], p. 155) 'What new things have happened in the meantime?'

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[219] For the uses of the present, see above, at nos. 8,6-8; 9,2-3; 10,5.

[220] For the uses of the preterite, see above, at no. 2,7.

[221] For the use of unmodified verbs and their modified counterparts in interrogative and negative sentences, see below, at no. 26,1.

Aisī kyā bāt h o g a ī ? Kyā h u ā ? (Kumār[5], p. 235) 'What sort of such a (horrible) thing happened? What happened?'[222]

Negative sentences:

lekin jo nahĩ honā thā vah nahĩ h u ā (Kumār[5], p. 226) 'but what was not fated to happen did not happen.'

aur is gharāne mẽ koī viśes bāt nahĩ h u ī h a i (Kumār[5], p. 226) 'otherwise, nothing unusual has happened in this family.'

mã̃ se yah kām nahĩ h o t ā t h ā (Nāgārjun, p. 12) '(my) mother never used to do things of this sort,' lit., 'this deed was not done by (my) mother.'

ye to cāhte haĩ ki sārā sārā din garmī mẽ cūlhe ke pās baiṭhī rahũ̃, bīmār ho jāũ̃ aur mar jāũ̃. Mujh se yah na h o g ā (Aśk[3], p. 470) 'they want me to remain sitting in heat at the cooking-place all day long, so that I may fall ill and die. I'll not do this'; lit., 'this will not be done by me.'

24,31. In the opinion of T. E. Katenina, the verb *jānā* combined with verbs denoting a state stresses intensity and completeness of transition to this state.[223] Guru says in almost the same words: "It is used in the sense of completeness with intransitive verbs denoting a state or change; e.g. *ho jānā ...*"[224]

Taking the term "completeness" (*pūrṇ(a)tā*) in the sense of full realization of the action, i.e. in the sense of the perfective aspect, Katenina's and Guru's explanations are supported by the use of *ho jānā* as evident from Hindī texts.[225] Indeed, Katenina and Beskrovnyj translate the expression *ho jānā* by a Russian perfective venb (стать). [226]

24,32. In Hacker's opinion, on the other hand, the explanation that *jānā* denotes completeness and closeness of an action only applies to combinations with the simple absolutive of certain transitive verbs.[227] He believes that *jānā* "is by its independent meaning - 'to go' - qualified to bring out the notion of 'process' when compounded with intransitives, as well as the feature of 'establishing a distance' in composition with certain transitives."[228]

Against Hacker's opinion it must be pointed out that the action expressed, e.g., by the expression *ho gayā* 'he became' is no less complete, no less closed than that denoted, e.g., by the expression *khā gayā* 'he ate all up'. Grammaticalization of *jānā* does not depend upon the transitiveness or intransitiveness of the main verb, cf. above, at nos. 2,91-5.

Hacker's opinion is shared by P. Gaeffke who, however, mentions another detail: in tenses formed from the present stem (in his opinion), a process striving for completion of an action is expressed, while in those formed from the perfect stem the result of this process is imparted.[229] But this opinion is disproved by documentary evidence, see above, at nos. 2 - 15.

24,33. S. Lienhard also admits that, in certain cases, *jānā* is used with transitive verbs to denote completion of an action,[230] and, above all in the perfect tenses, to form "finite modes of action"[231]

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[222] See a note to this quotation given below, at no. 26,1.

[223] Katenina[1], p. 70 (Katenina[2], p. 1336): «Глагол *jānā* с глаголами состояния подчеркивает интенсивность и полноту перехода в это состояние.»

[224] Guru, p. 397: *"Is kā prayog bahudhā sthiti vā vikārdarśak akarmak kriyāõ ke sāth pūrṇ(a)tā ke arth mẽ hotā hai; jaise, ho jānā ..."*

[225] Cf. above, at no. 24,2.

[226] Cf. Katenina[1], p. 70; Katenina[2], p. 1336; Beskrovnyj[2], p. 1219, s. v. *honā*. But cf. Beskrovnyj[4], p. 742, see above, at no. 1,5.

[227] Hacker[1], p. 25: "Insbesondere wird eine Feststellung, die nur für manche Transitiva richtig ist, daß *jānā* nämlich die Vollständigkeit oder Abgeschlossenheit der Handlung bezeichne, nicht nur oft für alle Transitiva verallgemeinert, sondern von allen außer Greaves auch auf die Intransitiva übertragen."

[228] Hacker[4], p. 508.

[229] Gaeffke, p. 352: "Zur Verdeutlichung kann man noch sagen, daß Intransitiva mit *jānā* einen Prozeß bezeichnen, der in den Formen des Präsensstammes einem Abschluß zustrebt, wogegen die Formen des Perfektstammes das Ergebnis dieses Prozesses ausdrücken."

[230] Lienhard, p. 71: "...seine Verwendung auch als Mittel, den Abschluß von durch transitive Verba beschriebenen Handlungen darzustellen."

with "conclusive-effective completion of action".[232] On the other hand, however, he believes that *jānā* combined with the simple absolutive may import the idea of progress and continuance of action.[233]

But Hindī affords particular verbal expressions denoting an action in progress.[234] Hence, it is *a priori* improbable that modified verbal expressions with *jānā* should serve as another means of denoting the same idea.

The progressive form *baṛh jā rahā hai / thā* occurring several times in Lienhard's book[235] is not supported by any documentary evidence.[236] In fact, the combination of two absolutives (*baṛh jā*) in one and the same modified verbal expression is uncommon. Besides, the function of the modifying verb *rāhā hữ̃* (most often used to denote an action in progress at the moment)[237] is hardly compatible with that of the modifying verb *jānā* (used in combination with a simple absolutive to point out full realization of the action as a whole, not as in progress).

24,34. The idea of 'going on' or 'keeping on doing' is expressed by combining a participle with *jānā, rahnā, ānā, calā ānā,* or *calā jānā;* some of these combinations are mentioned by Lienhard.[238] The combination of a simple absolutive with *jānā,* on the other hand, imparts no idea of 'going on' or 'keeping on doing'. Otherwise, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* could not alternate with forms of unmodified verbs without any difference in the quantity of the action expressed.[239] De Vreese is right when he rejects the opinion that *jānā* combined with a simple absolutive denotes a continuative-progressive action.[240]

Some modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may impart the idea of 'going on', though not by virtue of combining with *jānā,* but by virtue of the meaning conveyed by the main verb: *baṛh jānā* 'to go on'; 'to advance' and the like.

24,35. As to instances where *jānā* retains its sense of 'going', 'going away' (*le jānā* 'to go away with'; *de jānā* 'to give and go away';etc.), they are neutral in respect of verbal aspect.[241] Only when *jānā* combined with the simple absolutive of the main verb loses its lexical meaning and becomes a grammatical word, we have a modified verbal expression denoting perfectiveness of the action: then full realization of the action as a whole is signified. No idea of a continuing process is involved. This is pointed out by T. G. Bailey though he does not employ the terms "verbal aspect" or "perfective verbal aspect".[242]

The meaning of perfectiveness (and, consequently, the absence of any idea of a continuing process, or of that of a continuative-progressive action) does not depend

[231] Lienhard, p. 225: " ... Bildung finiter Aktionsarten durch *jānā* in vor allem den perfektiven Tempora, sonst aber vorwiegend progressiver Formen."

[232] Lienhard, p. 226: "b) in finiten Aktionsarten bei konklusiv-effektiver Handlungsvollendung: *jānā* ("gehen") und *ānā* ("kommen") mit Kurzabsolutiv ..."

[233] Lienhard, p. 71: " ... die Fähigkeit desselben Hilfsverbs, kontinuativ-progressive Aktionsarten auszubilden." - P. 225: " ... Bildung finiter Aktionsarten durch *jānā* in vor allem den perfektiven Tempora, sonst aber vorwiegend progressiver Formen ... " - P. 70: "Die Texte führen uns diese Funktion des *jānā*, das Weiter-Dauern einer Handlung zu verbalisieren, bisweilen sehr klar vor Augen." - The texts quoted by Lienhard,. however, do not support his opinion. For their interpretation, see Hacker[5], pp. 161-162; de Vreese, p. 212.

[234] Cf. above, at nos. 8,2-3; 11,1.

[235] Lienhard, pp. 66, 69, 81, 121, 124.

[236] Cf. Hacker[5], p. 161; de Vreese, p. 212.

[237] Cf. above, at no. 8,2.

[238] Lienhard, pp. 72-78.

[239] Cf. above, at nos. 2,1; 10,2-4.

[240] De Vreese, p. 213.

[241] Cf. above, at no. 1,92.

[242] Cf. Bailey[3], p. 72; see above, at no. 10,7.

upon the transitiveness or intransitiveness of the absolutive of the main verb, nor upon the form of the modifying verb *jānā.* As to the question how the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are functioning in individual tenses, these functions must be specified separately, by examining the meaning of these expressions in each tense.[243]

24,4. Trying to find out the function of *jānā* as combined with the simple absolutive of intransitive verbs, Hacker starts from the expression *ho jānā:* "There is a quite clear difference between *honā* and *ho jānā* because it is expressed in the translation: the former means 'to be' and, consequently, denotes a s t a t e, the latter 'to become', consequently, a p r o g r e s s."[244]

This opinion, however, is not supported by documentary evidence. In fact, the unmodified verb *honā* is used not only in the sense of 'being', but also in that of 'becoming', 'happening'.[245]

In the same context, Hacker discusses the expressions *bas jānā* 'to settle' (intr.), *baiṭh jānā* 'to sit down', and *ṭhahar jānā* 'to stay', 'to stop' (intr.), 'to remain', and reaches the conclusion that *jānā* serves to explicate the notion of process involved in the semantic content of many intransitive verbs.[246]

In reality, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* do not impart any idea of process, but express the perfective verbal aspect.[247]

Supposing that there is any necessity of explicating the idea of progress denoted by an intransitive verb, it remains to be seen why this necessity is restricted chiefly to affirmative declarative sentences (in interrogative sentences, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are less common and, in negative sentences, they are still less frequent). Hacker's explanation that "negation usually precludes an explicit, contoured idea of occurrence"[248] can hardly be considered satisfactory. Restrictions of the uses of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may have other reasons.[249]

And if this necessity applies to the affirmative declarative sentences at least, the question arises in what manner, say, the idea of 'coming', or that of 'falling' is explicated in the expressions *ā jānā* 'to come' and *gir jānā* 'to fall down'.

Comparing, e.g., *āyā* 'he came', *girā* 'he fell (down)', *uṭhā* 'he got up' with *ā gayā* 'he came', *gir gayā* 'he fell (down)', *uṭh gayā* 'he got up', it can hardly be denied that no idea is being explicated in any of these modified verbal expressions. The same holds good when these modified verbal expressions are used in another tense. Indeed, the idea of motion denoted by a verb may have occasioned the association of the action with the idea of motion as expressed by the modifying verb (cf. below, at nos. 24,5; 25,1; 27,94). Anyhow, Hacker's term "explicatives" (Hacker[4], p. 509) could apply to the f u n c t i o n of perfective verbal expressions: they select one of the functions of unmodified verbs (cf. above, at nos. 1,91; 2,1; 2,8; 9,1; 10,1; and below, at nos. 28,1; 28,2 and foot-note 453). - As to the fact that the meaning of perfective verbal expressions is more definite than that of unmodified

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[243] Cf. above, at nos. 2 - 15.

[244] Hacker[1] p. 25: "Völlig klar, weil schon in der Übersetzung zum Ausdruck kommend ist der Unterschied zwischen *honā* und *ho jānā:* das erstere heißt "sein", bezeichnet also einen Z u s t a n d, das zweite "werden" , also einen V o r g a n g."

[245] Cf. above, at no. 24,2.

[246] Hacker[1], p. 26: " ... In allen drei Fällen wird also der Vorgangsbegriff, der dem Simplex nicht eindeutig inhärent ist, durch *jānā* herausgehoben, entfaltet, expliziert, praezisiert, vereindeutigt." - "... so wird durch *jānā* der Begriff des Prozesses, der vielen intransitiven Verben schon durch ihre Bedeutung innewohnt, verausdrücklicht." Cf. also Hacker[4], pp. 508-509.

[247] Cf. above, especially at nos. 2,1; 2,9-2,93; 10,2-4; 24,3.

[248] Hacker[1], p. 81: "Verneinungen schließen gewöhnlich eine entfaltete, konturierte Vorstellung des Geschehens aus." - Hacker[4], p. 497: " ... negation normally precludes the idea of »definiteness«."

[249] Cf. below, at no. 26,11-3; 26,13.

verbs, this is - so to speak - a by-product of perfectiveness (cf. below, at nos. 27,42; 27,6).

24,5. To illustrate the function of *jānā* as used in the modified verbal expressions, Hacker takes *jānā* in the sense of 'to go': "Also when proceeding from the basic meaning of *jānā* - 'to go' - it is easy to understand that the helping verb added to intransitives means the process as such. Here, again, as when combined with *denā* and *lenā,* the absolutive has not its proper function of suggesting antecedence. Here, again, the two notions rather fuse closely: that of the main verb denoting the c o n t e n t of the process, and that of the helping verb signifying the c a t e g o r y 'process'; they are absolutely simultaneous."[250]

This point, again, is not supported by documentary evidence, as modified verbal expressions with *jānā* do not denote process, but full realization of the action as a whole.[251]

T. E. Katenina takes into account the lexical meaning of *jānā* 'to go' as combined with verbs of motion. In her opinion, the verbs *ānā* 'to come', and *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' combined with verbs of motion show a concrete direction, and, combined with other verbs, they show direction in an abstract, transferred sense.[252]

Katenina's explanation may apply to instances where *ānā* and *jānā* more or less retain their own lexical meaning. But if the function of *jānā* only consists in showing direction of an action, then it is difficult to understand how *jānā* can be used to show directions opposite to one another: *caṛh jānā* 'to go up', *utar jānā* 'to come down'; *baṛh jānā* 'to proceed', *haṭ jānā* 'to fall back'; and the like. In reality, the direction of the action is suggested by the main verb itself, or is evident from the context or situation (especially in negative sentences, where the unmodified verb replaces the modified verbaI expression).

Indeed, this very fact that the context or situation suggests the idea of 'approaching' in one case and that of 'going away' in another case occasions the association of the action with the idea of 'coming' or 'going away' respectively, in other words, it occasions forming modified verbal expressions with *ānā* or *jānā* respectively. These modifying verbs serve not so much to indicate the direction (implied in the meaning of the main verb and in the context or situation any way) as rather to suggest full realization of the action as a whole, i.e. to signify perfectiveness of the action. Barannikov, Beskrovnyj and Ulciferov are right when they translate these expressions by Russian perfective verbs[253] (though in some tenses an imperfective verb will have to be used in Russian).[254] Katenina herself translates them by imperfective verbs when a "concrete direction" is denoted, and by a perfective verb when "direction in an abstract, transferred sense" is imparted. For expressions denoting change of

[250] Hacker[1], p. 27: "Auch von der Grundbedeutung von *jānā* - 'gehen' - her ist leicht verständlich, daẏ das Hilfsverb in Verbindung mit Intransitiven den Vorgang als solchen meint. Das Absolutivum hat auch hier, wie bei *denā* und *lenā*, nicht seine eigentliche Funktion, Vorzeitigkeit anzudeuten. Es geschieht vielmehr auch hier eine enge Verschmelzung der Begriffe des Hauptverbs, das den I n h a l t des Vorgangs ausdrückt und des Hilfsverbs, das die K a t e g o r i e 'Vorgang' bezeichnet; beide sind absolut gleichzeitig."

[251] Cf. above, especially at nos. 2,1; 2,9-2,93; 10,2-4; 24,3.

[252] Katenina[1], p. 70: "Образующие глаголы *ānā* 'приходить', 'приближаться', *jānā* 'идти', 'уходить' в сочетании с глаголами движения показывают конкретное направление, с другими глаголами - направление в отвлеченном, переносном смысле." Cf. also Katenina[2], p. 1336.

[253] *lauṭ ānā* 'возвратиться', Barannikov[1], p. 130; Barannikov[2], p. 1287; Ulciferov, p. 519; *lauṭ jānā* 'возвратиться', Barannikov[1], p. 129; Barannikov[2], p. 1287; 'вернуться', Beskrovnyj[2], p. 1006; *nikal ānā* 'явиться', Barannikov[1], p. 130; 'появиться', Ulciferov, p. 296; *nikal jānā* 'уйти' (вперёд) ..., Beskrovnyj[2], p. 615; 'выйти', Ulciferov, p. 296.

[254] Cf. above, at nos. 1,6; 10,2. Cf. also below, at no. 29,3.

state she gives perfective verbs as Russian equivalents. Yet, she puts all these types of modified verbal expressions under the same headline "Intensive Verbs".[255]

24,6. When analysing the combination of *jānā* with the simple absolutive of transitive verbs, Hacker, again, takes *jānā* in the sense of 'to go': »"To go away after having done something" means: to reach d i s t a n c e from one's act. This is the most general determination of the function of *jānā* with transitives; in this determination, all individual cases are comprised.«[256]

Barannikov, too, mentions 'going away', but, at the same time, points out completeness of the action: "The formative verb *jānā* 'to go' 'to go away' usually combines with intransitive verbs. It adds to the meaning of the main verb the idea of going away, but often that of completeness only."[257] Translating these expressions into Russian, Barannikov consistently uses perfective verbs.[258] This shows that Barannikov has rather kept in view the sense of the expression taken by itself; Hacker, on the other hand, has based his opinion, on genetic considerations.

In fact, the lexical meaning of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' can only be helpful in genetic researches, i.e. in tracing the origin of the modified verbal expressions with *jānā.* The specific sense of these expressions can never be deduced directly from the meaning of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away', nor from dismembering the expression, taking the absolutive of the main verb separately as a sort of an absolutival construction and the verb *jānā* as a verbal predicate. By this very dismembration, the modified verbal expression ceases to be a modified verbal expression, its specific sense is lost.

The verb *jānā* (like other words susceptible of grammaticalization) becomes a grammatical word for this very reason that it loses its lexical meaning and serves grammatical purposes. Thus, the passive form *sarāhā jātā hai* does not mean 'he goes praised', but 'he is (being) praised'. The passive meaning 'to be praised' cannot be deduced directly from the meaning of *jānā* 'to go', though this meaning may have had its part in the development of passive in Hindī.[259] Similarly, the specific meaning of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* cannot be deduced directly from the meaning of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' (the verbal aspect is a grammatical category).[260] The specific meaning of these expressions can only be inferred from their uses, especially by comparing their uses with those of unmodified verbs: This applies to all modified verbal expressions with *jānā,* no matter whether the absolutive of an intransitive or that of a transitive verb is used.

Yet, as in the case of the passive, the meaning of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away', is to be taken into account in a genetic explanation, i.e. when trying to trace the origin of these expressions and to find out the reasons why the very verb *jānā* is used to

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[255] Katenina[1], p. 70: И н т е н с и в н ы е г л а г о л ы *laoṭ ānā* 'возвращаться' (сюда), *laoṭ jānā* 'возвращаться' (в другое место); *nikal ānā* 'выходить', 'появляться', *nikal jānā* 'выходить' (в направлении от воспринимающего лица); *ho ānā* 'явиться', 'оказаться'. Глагол *jānā* с глаголами состояния подчеркивает интенсивность и полноту перехода в это состояние, например: *ho jānā* 'стать', *badal jānā* 'измениться', *sūkh jānā* 'высохнуть', *mar jānā* 'умереть'.

[256] Hacker[1], p. 28: »"Nachdem man etwas getan hat, weggehen" bedeutet D i s t a n z von seiner Handlung bekommen. Damit ist die allgemeinste, alle Einzelfälle einschließende Bestimmung der Leistung von *jānā* bei Transitiven gegeben.«

[257] Barannikov[2], p. 1287: "Образующий глагол *jānā* 'уходить', 'удаляться' сочетается обычно с основами переходных глаголов. Он осложняет значение главного глагола понятием удаления, а часто - только законченности." - Cf. also Barannikov[1], p. 129.

[258] Barannikov[2], p. 1287. - Barannikov[1], p. 129-130.

[259] Cf. de Vreese, p. 213; Jules Bloch, however, does not exclude the influence of the Persian verb *šudan,* cf. Bloch, p. 294.

[260] Cf. above, at no. 1,8, and below, at nos. 27,921-4; 29,53.

form them. In such an explanation, not only the meaning of 'going', 'going away', but also the broad sense of 'being accomplished', 'coming to pass', 'becoming' and the like must be considered, especially when *jānā* is combined with the simple absolutive of verbs denoting change of state.

24,7. When an unmodified verb denotes change of state and implies double meaning - change of state in an active sense ('to make different') and in a passive or reflexive sense ('to become different', 'to change oneself') - then the modified verbal expression with *jānā* restricts its import to the idea of the change of state in a passive or reflexive sense; on the other hand, the modified verbal expressions with *denā* 'to give' or with *lenā* 'to take'[261] restrict the meaning to the idea of the change of state in an active sense. But cf. below, at no. 24, 83.

The unmodified verb is unmarked with regard to aspect-meaning, the modified verbal expression with *jānā* is marked with regard to perfectiveness. This may be the reason why Katenina says that *jānā* emphasizes the intensiveness and completeness of the transition into the state in question. In fact, Katenina translates these modified verbal expressions into Russian by perfective verbs.[262] Simllarly Ulciferov, too, translates, e.g. *badal jānā* and *badal lenā* into Russian by perfective verbs.[263] Thus, we have:

badalnā 1. 'to be changed'; 2. 'to change' (tr.), 'to exchange' (tr.). *badal jānā* 'to be changed.'
badal denā, badal lenā 'to change' (tr.), 'to exchange' (tr.), 'to transform.'
yah sthiti badalne par śāyad... (Ajñey[1], p. 100) 'When this situation changes, perhaps...'
dūsrā nag badalkar lagā to degā (Bailey[1], p. 66) 'he will change the stone (in a ring). '
drśy(a) badaltā hai (Nehrū, M., pp. 352-355; 455, 456, 458-460) 'the scene changes'; scenic present.
drśy(a) b a d a l j ā t ā h a i (Nehrū, M., pp. 351, 459) 'the scene changes'; scenic present.
kabhī-kabhī 'mẽ' aur 'par' āpas mẽ b a d a l j ā t e h a ĩ (Guru, p. 546) '(the prepositions) "mẽ" and "par" are sometimes interchanged'; present used to express a general statement.
jīvan kā prograām kuch b a d a l g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 91 'the programme of the life has somewhat changed.'
samay b a d a l g a y ā h a i, ham ko bhī badalnā cāhiye (Bhaṭṭ, p. 68) 'time has changed, we have to change, too.'
duniyā bhar ke tambākū pīne vāle har ghaṇṭe lagbhag 75 hazār ṭan tambākū jalākar dhuẽ aur rākh ke rūp mẽ b a d a l d e t e h a ĩ (Sinh, R., p. 27) 'smokers throughout the world transform every hour approximately 75 thousand tons of tobacco into smoke and ash'; present expressing a general statement.
ek bāt ne Śekhar ke jīvan kī gati b a d a l d ī (Ajñey[1], p. 95) 'one thing has changed the ways of Śekhar's life.'
tab vah churī aur kā̃ṭe ko b a d a l l e t ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 101) 'then he shifts (his) knife and fork (from one hand to the other);' historic present.
nahā-dho lo aur kapṛe b a d a l l o (Kumār[3], p. 120) 'Have a wash and change your clothes.'

24,81. Similar formations are found with other verbs, too, when the unmodified verb involves both the active and passive meanings:

khonā 1. 'to lose'; 2. 'to get lost' (infrequent in affirmative sentences).
kho jānā 'to get lost.'
kho denā 'to lose.'[264]

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[261] Cf. below, at no. 28,4.

[262] Katenina[1], p. 70: "Глагол *jānā* с глаголами состояния подчеркиваем интенсивность и полноту перехода в это состояние, например: *ho jānā* 'стать', *badal jānā* 'измениться' ..."

[263] Ulciferov, pp. 393-394: "*badal jānā* измениться; ... смениться; ... превратиться; ... *badal lenā* изменить; ... сменить; ... превратить; ... обменять, заменить ... "

[264] Ulciferov, p. 144, translates *kho denā* into Russian by the perfective verb потерять.

āp ne tālī khoī hai (Ṛṣi, p. 224, s. v. изволить) ‘you have lost (your) key.’

āk̲hir ko vilāyat mẽ zarūr pahũc jāegī. Khoegī nahĩ̃ (Bailey[1], p. 39) ‘it *(scil. the letter)* will finally reach England. It won’t get lost.’

bahin hãstī hai ... Aur phir k h o j ā t ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 21) ‘the sister laughs ... And she gets lost again (in dreams)’; narrator’s speech, historic present.

merī qalam k h o g a ī (Sharma, S., p. 207) ‘I lost my pen’ (‘my pen got lost’).

tumhārī kitāb kahā̃ k h o g a ī ? (Sharma, S., p. 185) ‘where did you lose your book?’ (‘where was your book lost?’).

merī ṭopī k h o g a ī h a i (Ṛṣi, p. 689, s. v. свой) ‘I have lost my hat’ (‘my hat has got lost’).

k(a)roṛõ varṣõ se mānav kī ek hī ceṣṭā hai - ki yā to sukh pā le, yā us kī kām(a)nā ko k h o de (Ajñey[1], p. 126) ‘for millions of years, man has the only endeavour - either to gain happiness, or to lose longing for it.’

maĩ ne apnī qalam k h o d ī (Sharma, S., p. 207) ‘I lost my pen.’

24,82. *bharnā* 1. ‘to become full’, ‘to be filled’; 2. ‘to fill’ (tr.), ‘to fill (up)’ (tr.), ‘to fill in’ (tr.).

bhar jānā ‘to become full’, ‘to be filled’.[265]

bhar denā ‘to fill’ (tr.), ‘to fill up’ (tr.).[266]

bhūkh lagne par har samay roṭiyõ se peṭ bharnā ucit nahĩ hai (Dīdī, p. 19) ‘it is not right to fill stomach with food whenever one gets hungry.’

in kā peṭ hai yā kuā̃. Das das roṭiyā̃ khā jāte haĩ phir bhī bharne mẽ nahĩ ātā (Aśk[3], p. 470) ‘they have no stomach (in their bodies) but a well (lit. ‘have they a stomach or a well?’). They eat lots of dishes (lit., ‘ten breads’) each time, yet it is not filled (lit., ‘it does not come to being full’).’

k̲hālī jagah bharo (Jain[1], p. 9, 13, 22, etc.) ‘fill in the empty place.’

us kā galā b h a r j ā t ā h a i aur vah rone lagtā hai (Ajñey[1], p. 117) ‘a lump is rising in his throat and he begins to weep’; historic present.

un kā peṭ to b h a r j ā t ā h a i, par śarīr kī zarūr(a)tẽ pūrī nahĩ ho pātĩ (Dīdī, p. 19) ‘they fill their stomachs (with food) but do not do their bodies any good;’ lit. ‘their stomachs are filled, but the needs of their bodies are not satisfied’; present expressing a general statement.

aur vah caũk uṭhā thā, jhẽp gayā thā phir ekāek sāhas se b h a r g a y ā t h ā (Ajñey[1], p. 171) ‘and he was startled and ashamed, (but) then, all of a sudden, he was filled with courage.’

ākāś kī, mukt vātāvaraṇ kī abādh viśāl(a)tā us ke prāṇõ mẽ b h a r g a ī t h ī (Ajñey[1], p. 111) ‘the boundless largeness of the space, of the open atmosphere had been transferred to (lit., "had been drawn", "had got into") his soul.’

Vilās! Tumhāre darśan ne sukh bhogne ke naye-naye āviṣkārõ se mastiṣk b h a r d i y ā h a i (Prasād, p. 28) ‘O Vilās! (O Pleasure!, *personification of pleasure).* Your coming has filled (our) brains with new and new contrivances of enjoying delights.’

24,83. With the verb *bhūlnā,* on the other hand, the modified verbal expression with *jānā* has generally an active sense, less often a passive sense. These modified verbal expressions denote, again, the perfective verbal aspect.[267]

bhūlnā 1. ‘to make a mistake’, ‘to commit an error’; ‘to go astray’; ‘to forget’; 2. ‘to be forgotten’ (with this meaning infrequent in affirmative sentences).

bhūl jānā 1. ‘to forget’; 2. ‘to be forgotten’ (infrequent in this sense).

aur hamẽ bhūlnā mat. Aur k̲habar apnī detī rahnā (Kumār[5], p. 202) ‘and don’t forget me. And keep on sending a word of yourself.’

kisī ap(a)rādh ko ve kabhī bhūltī nahĩ thĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 124) ‘she would never forget any wrongdoing.’

vah merī bāt nahĩ bhūlā (Sharma, S., p. 54) ‘he did not forget my words.’

vah dṛśy[(a)] mujhe nahĩ bhūlegā (Vyās, p. 46) ‘I shan’t forget that scene,’ lit., ‘that scene will not be forgotten to me (= by me).’

us ko apne pitā kī smṛti bhūlī nahĩ thī (Vyās, p. 2) ‘she had not forgotten her father,’ lit., ‘the memory of her father had not been forgotten to her (= by her).’

apne janm(a)sthān kī bhāṣā bhalā kaise bhūl saktī hai (Vyās, p. 46) ‘how can one forget the language of one’s native country?,’ lit., ‘how can the language ... be forgotten?’

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[265] Ulciferov, p. 427, translates *bhar jānā* by the perfective verbs наполниться, заполниться.

[266] Ulciferov, p. 427, translates *bhar denā* by the perfective verbs наполнить, налить, набить, заполнить.

[267] Ulciferov, p.437, translates *bhūl jānā* into Russian by the perfective verb забыть.

mujhe b h ū l j ā n e kī suvidhā cāhtī haĩ, chuṭṭī cāhtī haĩ (Kumār[5], p. 80) 'she wants to have the convenience of forgetting me, she wants to disengage herself.'

merā kaisā durbhāgy[(a)] hai ki maĩ b h ū l j ā t ī h ũ. Yād merī aisī hī hai, baṛī kaccī hai (Kumār[5], p. 207) 'how unhappy I am that I forget! I have this sort of memory, very weak'; characterizing present.

aur hã̃, maĩ to b h ū l g a ī. Vah āj yahã̃ āẽgī (Miśra[2], p. 79) 'and of course, I have forgotten. She comes here today.'

maĩ rāstā b h ū l g a y ā t h ā (Ajñey[1], p. 99) 'I had lost (my) way.'

Śekhar ko gāndhīvād b h ū l g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 128) 'Śekhar forgot the gāndhīsm,' lit., 'for Śekhar, the gāndhīsm was forgottten.'

24,911. Examining the combinations of the verb *jānā* with the simple absolutive ("stem")[268] of the main verb, E. Greaves writes: *"Jānā.* In some instances, this may have a slightly intensive force, but its use in the Passive Verb probably accounts for its general combination with the Passive-Neuter Verbs."[269]

The passive-neuter verbs, as defined by Greaves, are "trully Passive, but in structure and force distinctly differ from the ordinary Passive Verbs".[270] Referring to the combinations of the simple absolutive ("stem") of these verbs with *jānā,* Greaves says: "It may be asked, why this addition of the *jānā* at all? Some might state, and do state, that the *jānā* is *intensive.* A carefull consideration of a large number of sentences in which this *jānā* occurs with these Passive-Neuters, will make it evident that, in most cases, this suggestion about *intensity,* has no support whatever. A more plausible suggestion is that, as *jānā* is indicative of the Passive, its addition to these Verbs is appropriate, forasmuch as they are in one respect Passive. This appears to be a reasonable suggestion. The question still remains, How is it that sometimes the *jānā* addition is used, sometimes not? To this question, the only safe and sound answer appears to be, "Because it is". It is a matter of usage."[271]

24,912. As to the absolutive in the modified verbal expressions, Greaves says:

"Dr. Kellogg regards the form of the first word in these Compounds as the Conjunctive Participle. It seems, however, simpler and safer to regard it as the simple stem, as there is nothing of the force of the Conjunctive Participle in the use of the first word. This may be illustrated by the following: *khā jāo* has two possible meanings, 1. *Having eaten, go.* Here *khā* is the Conjunctive Participle, but the two Verbs do not constitute a Compound Verb. 2. *Eat away.* This is the Compound Verb, and in this there is no suggestion of the Conjunctive Participle."[272]

Against this it must be stated that, losing the force it has in an absolutival construction, the absolutive does not become a verbal stem. An absolutive may serve as a grammatical word, e.g., as a postposition (cf. *choṛ* 'excepting', 'except', 'besides'; *ho* 'having been', 'going', 'by way of', 'viâ', 'through'; etc.), and, in such a function, it is not regarded as a verbal stem, though, in form, it is equal to a verbal stem.

24,913. The verb *jānā,* as used in modified verbal expression, loses its lexical meaning and becomes a grammatical word serving grammatical purposes which cannot be deduced from the lexical meaning of *jānā* nor from that of the absolutive of the main verb: they can only be inferred by analysing the uses of the expression.

[268] Greaves, pp. 330-331.
[269] Greaves, p. 333.
[270] Greaves, p. 230.
[271] Greaves, p. 309.
[272] Greaves, pp. 330-331.

The passive or active meaning of the expression does not depend upon the verb *jānā:* this verb serves to form modified verbal expressions of either sort, passive and active. The passive or active meaning of the expressions depends upon the voice of the main verb. Not infrequently, however, one and the same verb may have two voices, active and passive.[273] As to verbs classified as passive-neuter by Greaves, there are some active verbs among them, e.g., *girnā* 'to fall'; *ṭalnā* 'to pass from somewhere';[274] *uṭhnā* 'to rise'.[275]

The term "intensity" is not explained by Greaves, nor can its meaning be gathered from Greaves' examples (*jān jānā* 'to get to know', *bhūl jānā* 'to forget', *mil jānā* 'to meet with'; etc.).[276] Gurov, criticizing Greaves, takes the term "intensity" in the sense of completeness of the action (интенсивность или завершенность действия) and shows that *jānā* does not serve to denote passive meaning of the expressions (being also used in expressions imparting an active sense), but to signify completeness of the action.[277]

24,914. S. Sharma, too, mentions the passive sense as well as the completeness of the action:

"Jānā is used to form passive and impersonal voices, hence many transitive verbs become intransitive when it is used with them. This compound verb denotes completeness and fullness of action. *Chūnā* 'to touch'; *chū jānā* 'to get touched'; ... *khonā* 'to lose'; *kho jānā* 'to be lost'."[278]

S. Sharma apparently disregards the double - active and passive - meaning of *khonā.*[279] By "intransitiveness", he means the fact that, in tenses formed from the 2nd (perfective, past) participle, the nominative construction is to be used. Besides, S. Sharma disregards the aspectual meaning of the modified verbal expressions with *jānā.* Yet, he is right when he mentions "completeness and fullness" of the action as expressed by the modified verbal expressions with *jānā*, though the wording "realization of the action as a whole" is preferable.[280]

24,92. The double use of *jānā* - in expressions conveying an active meaning and in those imparting a passive sense - shows that *jānā* in itself is indifferent to the voice signified by the expression. This fact is also evident from older texts where functions of *jānā* are rather in a state of flux, as seen, e.g., from the Padumāvatī, a poem written in Eastern Hindī (Avadhī) by Malik Muhammad Jāyasī in the year A. D. 1540. In his grammatical study of the language of the Padumāvatī, L. Dhar gives this survey of the functions of the verb *jā-* 'to go':

"A periphrastic passive is formed by combining the forms (a) of absol. (conjunctive participle) or (b) of the pa. participle with the various forms of *jā-* 'to go', e.g., *muri jāi, bhari gā, likhi na jāi, mārā na jāsi, meṭā na jāi,* etc." - "Compound Verbs. The compound verbs are not very commonly employed but they are used quite frequently. We find the instances of the following verbs used with the absolutive, pres. or pa. participles or infinitive of the principal verb, as compound verbs: (1) *pār-, sak-,* and *pā-* ...; (2) *par- ...;* (3) *ā-, jā-, le-, uṭh-,* expresses the completion of an action, e.g., *... pāki gai, mili gaeu, ...*"[281]

[273] Cf. above, at nos. 24,7-8; besides, see Guru, pp. 158-159; Gurov, pp. 140-141.
[274] Greaves, p. 310.
[275] Greaves, p. 312.
[276] Greaves, p. 333.
[277] Gurov, p. 145.
[278] Sharma, S., p. 185.
[279] Cf. above, at no. 24,8.
[280] Cf. below, at no. 27,2.
[281] Dhar, p. 27.

In his Glossary to the Padumāvatī, L. Dhar says: "*jā-*, gives an intensive meaning to the root, the absol., pres. and pa. participles of which it follows (not necessarily immediately and sometimes precedes); e.g., *āi...; jā-,* gives pass. form of the verb, the absol. and pa. participles and inf. of which follows: e.g. *kahā nahiṃ ...*"[282]

In Dhar's terminology, the terms "intensive meaning" and "completion of an action" are synonyms. Mentioning the combination of the absolutive with *jā-*, he says (p. 27): "*jā-* ... expresses the completion of an action," and, at another place (p. 246): "*jā-,* gives an intensive meaning ..." Similarly, with the verb *de-* 'to give': "*de-* gives an intensive or completed sense to some roots ..."[283] This terminology may occasion difficulties.[284]

There are some inaccuracies in L. Dhar's statements. In the glossary, *jā-* is said to give "passive form of the verb, the absolutive and past participles and infinitive of which follows" (p. 246), but, in the section dealing with the passive voice as used in the Padumāvatī, the combination with the infinitive is not mentioned (pp. 26-27). - On p. 27 the expression *muri jāi* is presented as the periphrastic passive, but, on p. 246, *muri jā-* is listed at two different items: a) as intensive; b) as a passive form. In both of these items, reference is made to one and the same verse, scil. to caupāī 54.6. The verse runs:

Laṃka jō paiga dēta muri jāī;
Kaisē rahi jau rāvana rāī (54.6; Dhar, p. 86).

Dhar's translation goes: "How has that waist (or the town of Laṅkā), which bends at every step remained (firm) when enjoyed by the King (Rāvana)?"[285] In Dhar's Glossary *mur-* is presented as an intransitive verb meaning "to be twisted, bent", and the form *muri* as used in the verse 54.6 is stated to be an absolutive.[286] Thus, the form *muri jāī* is rather to be regarded as a modified verbal expression with *jā-* than as a periphrastic passive. This squares with the fact that, in modern Hindī at least, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are frequently used in the present-tense form to express a characteristic (characterizing present).[287]

In Padumāvatī, the combination of the absolutive of a main verb with *jā-* has mostly a perfective meaning (or, as L. Dhar says, "intensive meaning", in the sense of "completion of an action"). Dhar's glossary presents 25 instances of these combinations: in 21 instances, the verb *jā-* is in the preterite (in the form of past participle or in that of the "past indefinite" tense), in four instances it has the present-tense form. Two examples:

Ṭhāṁvaṁhi ṭhāṁvaṁ bimohī g a ī murachā gati ā i (Dhar, p. 38) 'she was faint in every part of her body and a condition of swoon came over her' (Dhar, p. 149).

Doi ghaṭa mili ēkai h o i j ā h ī ṁ (Dhar, p. 103) 'Both hearts, having united, become one' (Dhar, p. 182).

Less often the combination of the absolutive of a main verb with *jā-* has a passive sense. Dhar's glossary presents seven instances. One example:

Dāyaja kahauṁ kahāṁ lagi l i k h i na j ā i ita dīnha (Dhar, p. 47) 'How can I describe the dowry for so much has been given that it cannot be written?,' (Dhar, p. 154); lit., 'it is not (to be) described.'

[282] Dhar, p. 246.
[283] Dhar, p. 262.
[284] For the term "intensive", see below, at no. 27,93. - For the term "completive", see below, at no. 27,2.
[285] Dhar, p. 173.
[286] Dhar, p. 306.
[287] Cf. above, at no. 10,6.

25,1. The other constituent part of modified verbal expressions, the simple absolutive of the main verb, affords the semantic content of the expressions. But, in this point, the lexical meaning of the main verb is not the only thing that matters. The relation between the absolutive and the modifying verb is significant, too. This relation is not the same in any modified verbal expression, and this circumstance may be relevant to the sense of the expression.

From the standpoint of logical analysis, the absolutive most often denotes a preceding action to that signified by the modifying verb. But it may as well express an action coinciding with that imparted by the modifying verb. Thus, among the most ancient instances of expressions of this type, recorded in Pāli texts,[288] there is the sentence *aṭṭhi patitvā gataṃ* 'the bone fell down' (Jātaka iii, 26).[289] R. N. Vale says to this text: "It is obvious that there is no sequence of action intended here. On the contrary, the participle *gata* used as finite verb, goes to intensify or complete the action of falling conveyed by the main semanteme *patitvā* in an absolutive form.[290] Vale's wording "to intensify or complete the action" may rightly be regarded as a periphrasis of what can be more properly termed as perfectiveness or perfective verbal aspect.

When analysing this Pāli sentence, the idea suggests itself that, originally at least, the expression may have had an emotional colouring. When used more frequently, the expression may have lost this colouring. The idea of going' (*gata-* 'gone'; 'went') may easily associate with that of any motion (*patitvā* 'having fallen'). But the fact that two verbs combine to denote a single action (*patitvā gataṃ* 'it fell down') cannot be an accidental phenomenon. Nor can a verb (*gam-* 'to go') lose its word-meaning at a blow and become a grammatical word.

25,2. In fact, modified verbal expressions are no accidental phenomenon. They originate in absolutival constructions. Frequent use of absolutival constructions is a common feature of Indo-Aryan languages since the most ancient times. When the verbal force of the absolutive is weakened, the absolutival construction loses its quasi-predicative value, the non-sentence predication disappears. Modified verbal expressions are one of the results of this development. Another result is the use of the absolutive as a grammatical word. Such a grammaticalized absolutive may also happen to precede the verb *jānā.* Then, however, the two verbs do not form any combination whatever, neither a close one, nor a loose one.[291]

The development of modified verbal expressions is not closed. Formation of some expressions is supported by documentary evidence from old times, other expressions are newly formed. The same verbs may form a close combination in one instance, and a loose combination in another. In particular, transitive verbs are often found in a loose combination with a modifying verb. But even intransitive verbs may appear in a position occasioning what seems to be a modified verbal expression; the two verbs, however, have to be taken separately. The sense often depends upon the context or situation.

Intransitive verbs:

[288] Cf. Vale, p. 264.
[289] Cf. Davids, s. v. *gata.*
[290] Vale, p. 264.
[291] Cf. above, at nos. 20,2-3.

Patnī rotī huī vahā̃ se u ṭ h g a ī. Pati kuch der śūny[(a)]-bhāv se vahā̃ baiṭhe rahe, anantar cale āye (Kumār[5], p. 46) '(His) wife stood up weeping and went away from there. (Her) husband remained sitting there for a while with an air of desolation, then he went off'; two verbs separate in meaning.

us samay us kā cehrā ūpar ko u ṭ h j ā t ā h a i aur nāk par rakhā huā sone kī rim vālā caśmā dikhtā hai (Māthur, p. 114) 'at that moment, she raises her face upwards and one can see spectacles with gold rims on her nose'; modified verbal expression, lit., 'her face rises.'

moṭar mẽ j ā b a i ṭ h ā (Premcand[2], p. 71) 'he went and sat down in the car'; two verbs separate in meaning.

to caliye, mujhe bhī usī tar(a)f jānā hai. B a i ṭ h c a l i y e (Kumār[1] p. 65) 'well then, come, I have to go the same way, too. Sit down (in my buggy) and come along (with me)'; two verbs separate in meaning.

Transitive verbs:

mere vāste ṭahluī lāne ko k a h g a y e t h e, lāye apnā khilaunā (Nehrū, M., p. 460) 'you went, as you had said (lit., 'having said'), to bring a maid-servant for me, (but) you have brought a plaything for yourself'; two verbs separate in meaning.

apne sā hī sab ko samajhte ho - tabhī aisī bāt k a h g a y e (Kumār[3], p.57) 'you consider everybody (to be) like yourself, that is why you have said such an (outrageous) thing' (with reference to behaviour of Indians towards women); modified verbal expression, the modifying verb *gaye* is grammaticalized.

par mujhe b a t ā j ā o, tum kaun ho (Kumār[2], p. 342) 'But before you go away, tell me who you are'; two verbs separate in meaning.

Khānā khākar palaṅg par leṭ gayā. Śrīm(a)tī pān d e g a ī̃ (Kumār[1], p. 35) 'After dinner, I went to bed. (My) wife left (there) betel (for me and went away),' lit., 'having given betel, the lady went away'; *leṭ gayā* is a modified expression, *de gaī̃* may be regarded as two verbs separate in meaning.

jī nahī̃, vah nahī̃ ā sakẽge. Hā̃, yah patr[(a)] d e g a y e h a ī̃ (Prabhākar[4], p. 110) 'no, he won't be able to come. But of course, he has left this letter (before going away)'; *de gaye haī̃* may be regarded as two verbs separate in meaning.

Jhuniyā choṭī sī thī, tabhī se gāh(a)kõ ke ghar dūdh lekar jāyā kartī thī (Premcand[1], p. 48) 'from a child, Jhuniyā usually took round milk to the houses of customers', lit. 'usually went, having taken milk'; the absolutival construction forms an adverbial expression.

sab cīzẽ l e j ā o (Kumār[3], p. 12) 'take all (these) things away', lit., 'having taken, go'; here, *jānā,* to some extent, retains the sense of 'going'.

25,3. Another factor relevant to the meaning of two verbs forming a close or loose combination is the sequence (antecedence, coincidence, subsequence) of the actions. Here, again, a view to the varying functions of the absolutive in absolutival constructions may prove to be helpful. Some examples of absolutival constructions:

Puṣpā sunkar vahī̃ baiṭhī rah gaī aur Mātāprasād kahkar svayam ṭahalne lag gaye. Ekāek muṛkar use vahī̃ baiṭhā dekhkar ḍā̃ṭkar bole, "Sunā nahī̃? Kyā tum bahrī ho? Bistar kholo aur so jāo." Tatkāl Puṣpā ko uṭhtā huā na dekhkar kaṛakkar kahā, "Uṭho" (Kumār[5], p. 174) »Pushpā heard (this), (but) remained sitting on the same place, and Mātāprasād himself, when he had said that, began to walk about. Suddenly he turned, and seeing her sitting on the same place, said reproachfully: "Haven't you heard? Are you deaf? Undo (your) bedding and go to sleep." Seeing that Pushpā did not stand up instantly, he shouted out: "Get up."«

Lit.: Having heard (*antecedence*) (this), Pushpā remained sitting on the same place, and Mātāprasād himself, having said (*antecedence*) (that), began to walk about. Suddenly having turned (*antecedence*) (and) having seen (*antecedence;* or 'seeing' - *contemporaneity*) her sitting on the same place, he said rebuking (*coincidence of actions*) her: "Haven't you heard? Are you deaf? Undo (your) bedding and go to sleep." Having seen (*antecedence;* or: 'seeing' - *contemporaneity*) that Pushpā did not stand up instantly, he said roaring (*coincidence of actions*): "Get up."

Us samay gale milkar, hãskar, bolkar tarah-tarah se unhõ ne apnī prasann(a)tā prakaṭ kī (Kumār[5], p. 208) 'Then, she was embracing (her), laughing, talking, (in short), she was showing her pleasure in various ways', lit., 'then, having embraced (*or:* 'embracing') (her), laughing, talking ...' (*coincidence of actions*).

gir-girkar bhī nahī̃ girtī (Ajñey[1], p. 113) 'although it falls again and again, it does not fall down' (said of a butterfly).

25,4. In modified verbal expressions, the absolutive fulfils still more varying functions than in absolutival constructions. When the expression represents a close combination of both components, then the absolutive is expressive of no syntactic relation and the modifying verb is a mere grammatical word. The presumably original syntactic relation inferred from the analysis of the expression is a mere logical conjecture:

acānak hamāre paṛosī kā baccā chat se g i r g a y ā (Prabhākar[3], p. 9) 'suddenly, the boy of a neighbour of ours fell down from the roof'; close combination analysable, logically, into two coinciding actions.

naukar kām k a r g a y ā h a i (Sharma, A., p. 88) 'the servant has done (his) work and gone'; the absolutive denotes an antecedent action.

misṭar Lāl dekhte haĩ, aur andekhī k a r j ā t e h a ĩ ki vah adhik khinn[(a)] na ho (Ajñey[1], p. 101) 'Mr. Lāl sees that, but feigns not to see (anything) so that he (i.e. the boy) may not be still more depressed'; close combination analysable, logically, into two coinciding actions.

kāl calā jātā hai aur cīzõ ko naī purānī k a r j ā t ā h a i (Kumār[4], p. 127) 'the time passes away and changes things (from) new (to) old'; looser combination: *kar jātā hai* may be regarded as two semantically separate verbs ('... before it goes away, it changes...').

kaun thī vah cuṛail jo tum par mānõ jādū k a r g a ī (Nehrū, M., p. 354) 'who was this hag who has as it were bewitched you (before she went away)?'; *kar gaī* may be regarded as two semantically separate verbs.

k a h g a y e h a ĩ ki do baje se pūrv[(a)] nahĩ lauṭẽge (Prabhākar[4], p. 93) '(before going) he said he would not come back before two o'clock' ('he has left the message he will not ...'); *kah gaye* may be regarded as two semantically separate verbs.

Jānakī - ... Tum cāho to yah rok saktī ho, mã.

Citrāṅgadā - Kis tarah beṭī? Nārī rājnīti mẽ nahĩ paṛtī. Hāy, kyā k a h g a ī !

Jānakī - Mã! Tumne mujhe beṭī kah diyā.

Citrāṅgadā - Kaisā jādū mujh par ho gayā? Maĩ ne beṭī kah hī diyā ... (Miśra[2], p. 86).

»Jānakī: " ... If you are willing, you can hinder it, mother."

Citrāṅgadā: "In what way, (my) daughter? Woman has nothing to do with politics. Oh me, what I have said!"

Jānaki: "Mother, you called me daughter."

Citrāṅgadā: "What has bewitched me? Indeed, I have said '(my) daughter'..."«

Here, *kah gaī* denotes the same action as *maĩ ne kah diyā* "I have said," but, at the same time, it suggests the idea of rashness, inconsiderateness. Both expressions represent close combinations. Logical analysis may distinguish two coinciding actions in each combination, really, however, one action is meant.

kursiyā̃ aĩṛī-baĩṛī l a g ā g a y ā h a i, jhāṛū bīc mẽ ḍ ā l g a y ā h a i (Nehrū, M., p. 355) '(before going away) he has jumbled up the chairs (and) thrown the broom in the middle' ('he has left behind chairs jumbled up (and) the broom thrown in the middle'); in the expressions *lagā gayā hai* and *ḍāl gayā hai*, the two component parts may be taken as two separate verbs.

ciṭṭhī band karke, us par pūrā patā likhkar is baks mẽ ḍ ā l d e t e h a ĩ (Indumatī, p. 5) 'into this box, a closed letter, with full address, is dropped', lit., having closed the letter, (and) having written full address on it, they drop (it) into this box'; the expression *ḍāl dete haĩ* represents a close combination analysable, logically, into two coinciding actions.

25,5. Some expressions present what may be termed "inverted sequence of actions": the action expressed by the absolutive may be regarded as subsequent to that signified by *jānā*. The function of the absolutive is similar to that of an infinitive after a verb of motion, but the relation between the actions is closer and the expression may often be rendered into English by one verb.

'Parakh' paṛhkar āp inhẽ b a t ā j ā ẽ āp ko kaisī lagī, aur avaśy[(a)] b a t ā j ā ẽ. Maĩ in se pūchū̃gā (Kumār[5], p. 69). 'When you have read the (novel) 'Parakh', please come and tell Mr. Śankardayāl (lit., 'to him', honor. pl.) how you have liked (it), be sure and come to tell (him). I'll ask him (about that).'

Here, *batā jāẽ* may be taken as a close combination meaning ‘please tell’, but the sense ‘please come and tell’ or ‘please go and tell’ (or ‘having come, tell’, ‘having gone, tell’) is more probable and better corresponds to the situation. In any case, the action denoted by the absolutive cannot be taken as antecedent to that expressed by the modifying verb (‘after having said, go’).

But in another context with the same expression, the absolutive denotes an antecedent action:

Pardeśī, tum kaun ho? ... Par batāo, tum kaun ho ... Tum jāo, maĩ tumhāre yogy[(a)] nahĩ hữ. Tum cale hī jāo ... Par mujhe b a t ā j ā o, tum kaun ho. Mujhe apne lie b a t ā j ā o (Kumār[2], p. 342) ‘Foreigner, who are you? ... But tell who you are ... Go away, I am not worthy of you. Do go away ... But (before you go) tell me who you are. Tell (it) for myself (only) (before you go).’

Similarly, e.g., the expression *kar jānā* may be used in various senses. Compare examples given above at no. 25,4 with this quotation:

maĩ ne is sasur ko kahlā bhejā ki ākar mehmān kī māliś k a r j ā e. Sālā āyā hī nahĩ (Nāgārjun, p. 13) ‘I sent a word to this rascal to come and massage a guest (of mine). The rogue didn’t come.’

Here, again, *māliś kar jāe* may be taken as a close combination meaning ‘he may massage’. But the sense ‘he may go and massage’ is possible, too (‘after having come, he may go and massage the guest’). In any case, the sense ‘he may go after having massaged’ is of no account. Here, the absolutive *kar* does not signify antecedence of the action; it rather imparts subsequence of the action, if we do not prefer to take *jāe* in a transferred sense and regard both actions - from the standpoint of logical analysis - as coincident.

It will not be insignificant to compare *ākar ... māliś kar jāe* with *jākar ... dekh ātā thā* in this quotation:

un dinõ ām pakne ko ho rahe the. Śekhar roz jākar unhẽ lalcāī ãkhõ se d e k h ā t ā t h ā (Ajñey[1], p. 109) ‘at that time, mangoes were about to ripen. Śekhar made it a habit to go (there) every day and look at them with eager eyes’.

The "inverted sequence of actions" as defined above is of rather frequent occurrence. Some more instances:

āo, calo g h ū m ā ẽ (Prabhākar[1], p. 34) ‘come, let’s go for a walk’.

Śekhar ko anumati milī ki nāṭak d e k h ā e (Ajñey[1], p. 117) ‘Śekhar was allowed to go and see the (dramatic) performance’.

tum d e k h ā y e, vah goh kī khāl sūkh gaī hai ki nahĩ? (Ajñey[1], p. 109) ‘have you come to see whether the skin of the lizard has got dry or not?’

āj sinemā d e k h ā o (Nehrū M., p. 352) ‘go to a cinema today’.

"Uṭho, tumhẽ beḍrūm tak c h o ṛ ā ữ," vah bolī (Sāhū, p. 19) ‘She said: "Got up, I’ll see you to (your) bedroom (before I go away)" (said to a man feeling sick).

tum jāo, maĩ s o r a h ữ g ī (Nehrū, M., p. 454) ‘you go, I’ll (remain and) sleep’.

25,6. As said above at no. 24,6, the specific meaning of modified verbal expressions can never be deduced directly from the meaning of the modifying verb, nor can it be found by dismembering the expression into its constituent parts. The relation between these constituent parts may vary in compliance with the context or situation, and the sense of the expression varies accordingly.[292] This relation (and, consequently, the meaning of the expression) does not necessarily depend upon the form of the constituent parts, i.e., upon the fact that the main verb has the form of the simple absolutive and the modifying verb takes that of a finite verb. There are instances where the modifying verb has the form of the simple absolutive and the main verb takes that of a finite verb. Such instances are mentioned by Guru, Davidova, and Dymšic. Dymšic says:

"Sometimes the main verb and the formative verb interchange their positions; yet, the meaning of the intensive verb is not changed, e.g., *bhagā denā = de bhagānā* ‘to put to flight’, ‘to drive off’; *paṭak denā = de paṭaknā* ‘to dash’, ‘to throw’.[293]

[292] Cf. the instances given above, at nos. 25,4-5.

[293] Dymšic[1], p. 106: «Иногда основной и образующий глаголы меняются местами; при этом значение интенсивного глагола не изменяется; например: *bhagā denā = de bhagānā* ‘обратить

Dymšic even seems to believe that modified verbal expressions represent no set types at all: "It is important to mention that, unlike other derivative words, intensive verbs are no stable lexical units, but, in any individual case, are formed immediately in speech."[294] These words of Dymšic must not be taken in the sense that modified verbal expressions may be formed *ad libitum* or used indiscriminately. They are formed under certain rules and their uses follow certain set lines. After all, the "interchange of positions" mentioned by Dymšic is of no frequent occurrence. Anyhow, modified verbal expressions represent formations easily complying with various and varying purposes of individual speakers or writers. Consequently, individual contexts and situations have to be taken into account with any expression of this kind.

25,7. Hence, the interrelations between the component parts of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are more variable and more complicated than as described by Hacker:

»This, however, means that the combination of the main verb with the helping verb is not here so close as with *denā* and *lenā* and even with *jānā* with intransitives. For here, the helping verb retains its independence to such an extent that it determines even the construction of the compound. Hence, one will not be able to say, by analogy to *denā* and *lenā,* that e.g., in *kah jānā* "saying" is s i m u l t a n e o u s l y "going" or that in *kar jānā,* "doing" is s i m u l t a n e o u s l y "going". For "to say" and "to do" are transitives; "going", however, here retains its intransitiveness even in the compounds. Hence, it is necessary to proceed here from the basic meaning in which "to do" and "to go" are separate from one another as regards time: "having done, to go away".«[295]

Firstly, closeness or looseness of the combination does not depend upon the type of construction to be used in tenses formed from the 2nd (perfective, past) participle (some expressions require the construction with the nominative, other ones that with the agentive case). Thus, e.g., *kar jānā* takes always the nominative construction, but may form a close combination in one case, meaning ‘to do’, and a loose combination in another meaning ‘to do and go away’ or imparting another shade of meaning.[296]

Besides Hacker disregards the fact that the relation between the action denoted by the simple absolutive and that signified by the modifying verb may vary.[297]

After all, the meaning of ‘going’ is only present when the combination is loose. In a close combination, *jānā* is a grammatical word losing its lexical meaning in the same way as, e.g., in the forms of the passive voice.[298] The lexical meaning of *jānā* may be taken into account in a genetic examination. The specific meaning of modified verbal expressions can only be inferred from their uses, especially by comparing their uses with those of unmodified verbs.

26,11. A perfective modified verbal expression cannot be indiscriminately used in sentences of any sort. Its occurrence is less common in an interrogative sentence than in an affirmative declarative sentence. In negative sentences and in sentences

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в бегство’, ‘отогнать’; *paṭak denā = de paṭaknā* ‘швырнуть’». Cf. also Dymšic[2], p. 1110. - Cf. Davidova, pp. 224-225, foot-note 9 (*us ne ḍālī de paṭakī).* - Guru, p. 398 (*de mārā, de paṭkā*) and p. 399 (*choṛ rakhnā, rakh choṛnā*).

[294] Dymšic[1], p. 106: «Важно отметить, что интенсивные глаголы в отличие от других производных слов не являются постоянными лексическими единицами, а в каждом отдельном случае воспроизводятся непосредственно в речи.» - Cf. also Dymšic[2], p. 1111.

[295] Hacker[1], p. 28: »Das bedeutet aber, daß die Verbindung von Hauptverb und Hilfsverb hier nicht so eng ist wie bei *denā* und *lenā* und wie auch bei *jānā* mit Intransitiven. Denn das Hilfsverb behält hier in solchem Grade seine Selbständigkeit, daß es sogar die Konstruktion des Kompositums bestimmt. Man wird also nicht in Analogie zu *denā* und *lenā* sagen können, daß beispielsweise bei *kah jānā* das "Sagen" z u g l e i c h ein "Gehen" oder bei *kar jānā* das "Tun" z u g l e i c h ein "Gehen" sei. Denn "sagen" und "tun" sind transitiv; das "Gehen" behält hier aber auch in den Komposita seine Intransitivität. Es ist hier also von einer Grundbedeutung auszugehen, in der "tun" und "gehen" zeitlich getrennt sind: "nachdem man getan hat, weggehen"«.

[296] Cf. above, at no. 25,4.

[297] Cf. above, at nos. 25,4-5.

[298] Cf. above, at no. 24,6.

affirmative in form, but suggesting a negative meaning, expressions of this kind are still less frequent. This fact has been noticed by T. G. Bailey (cf. Bailey[2], p. 19; Bailey[3], p. 77. - Cf. also Hacker[1], p. 81; Hacker[4], p. 497, and see below, no. 26,33).

sonā cāhtī hai aur kabhī nĩd bhī ā j ā t ī h a i. ā j ā t ī h a i, tab to ṭhīk, jab nĩd nahĩ ā t ī tab vaqt sir par behad bhārī ho jātā hai (Kumār[5], p. 85) 'she wishes to sleep and sometimes, she does feel sleepy. When she does, then it is all right. When she does not, then the time becomes a very heavy (burden lying) on (her) head'.

Tum is rahasy[(a)] ko samajhkar dukhī h o j ā o g e, aur bahut sambhav hai ise jānkar tum mujh se nārāz bhī h o j ā o. - Nahĩ, maĩ dukhī na h o ũ g ā aur na nārāz hī h o ũ g ā. (Varmā, Bh., p. 10) 'When you learn this secret, you will be unhappy, and it is very probable that you will be displeased, too, with me.' - "No, I shall not be unhappy nor shall I be displeased."

Māsṭar - Namaste, acchā, tum sab ā g a y e. Aur tum bhī ho, Pratibhā. Aur Nirmalā bhī hai?

Pratibhā - Jī, Nirmalā nahĩ ā ī.

Māsṭar - Nahĩ ā ī. Are hã, vah to kahĩ nahĩ dikhāī detī. Kyõ nahĩ ā ī, kisī ko patā hai? (Prabhākar[3], p.8).

Teacher: "Good morning! Well, you all have come. And you are also (present), Pratibhā. And Nirmalā, too?"

Pratibhā: 'No, Sir, Nirmalā hasn't come.'

Teacher: "She hasn't come. Oh, yes, I don't see her (lit., 'she is not seen') anywhere. Does anybody know why she hasn't come?"

In particular, a modified verbal expression is not used when attention is directed to something else than to full realization of the action:

Kām(a)nā - Tū bhī ā g a ī? - Līlā - Kyõ na ā t ī? (Prasād, p. 7) Kāmanā: "You have come, too?" - Līlā: 'Why not?'

Here, Kāmanā's attention is directed to the fact that Līlā has come. Līlā, on the other hand, would like to know the reason of Kāmanā's astonishment.

Nirmalā - Jī, der h o g a ī. - Māsṭar - Hã, der to h o g a ī. Par kyõ h u ī ? (Prabhākar[3], p. 8) 'Nirmalā: I am late, Sir.' - Teacher: "Yes, you are late. But why?" - Here, again, the question refers to the cause of the action (the reason of being late), not to its full realization.

acānak hamāre paṛosī kā baccā chat se g i r g a y ā (Prabhākar[3], p. 9) 'suddenly, the boy of a neighbour of ours fell down from the roof'; suddenness of the action expressed.

yah batāiye ki Dev(a)dās rel par se girā kaise? (Gupt, p. 4) 'please tell (me) how did Devadās come to fall from the train'; the question refers to further particulars concerning the action, the accident itself being known.

Puruṣ - Kitne phūl haĩ? ãj(a)lī mẽ ā j ā ẽ g e ? Mahilā - Nahĩ ā ẽ g e. (Kumār[2], p. 338)

Man: "How much flowers have you? Will they go into two handfulls?" Woman: 'They won't.'

Here, the question refers to the action itself with regard to the possibility of its full realization. The answer rather simply states the actual state of things.

Aisī kyā bāt h o g a ī ? Kyā h u ā ? (Kumār[5], p. 235) 'What sort of such a (horrible) thing happened? What happened?'

In this case, the first question suggests that the occurrence attracts attention, that something horrible has happened. The second question presupposes that something has happened; the speaker would like to know some particulars about what happened.

bāt yahĩ <u>kh</u>atm nahĩ h o j ā t ī (Sinh, R., p. 26) 'that's not all', lit., 'the matter does not come to an end here', i.e., the series of statistical data as given as yet is incomplete; statement of fact, the realization (absence of realization) of the action is pointed out.

Similarly, in warnings, strengthened negations, contrasting situations, etc. (discussed by P. Gaeffke, see Gaeffke*, pp. 13-38).

26,12. Thus, when the realization of the action as such is pointed out, the modified verbal expression is used even in an interrogative or negative sentence. Some more instances of interrogative sentences:

Oh, tumhẽ kyā h o j ā t ā h a i, bhaiyā? (Kumār[4], p. 112) 'Oh, what happens to you, brother?'[299]

[299] Cf. above, at no. 10,8 and the foot-note 179.

Us ne kahā, "Rānī, tum nārāz ho rahī ho? Jāntī ho, is se tum kitnī aur sundar nahī̃ h o j ā t ī̃?" Tab man-hī-man vah garv(a) se bhar uṭhī, bolī, "Cup raho." (Kumār[5], p. 135).

»He said: "(My) queen, are you displeased? How much more beautiful you (don't) become so! Do you know that?" Then she was filled with pride in her innermost soul (and) said: "Be quiet."« Here, the sentence is negative in form, but affirmative in sense, expressing the emotional attitude of the speaker ("emotional negation").[300]

By the modified verbal expression with *jānā,* a particular feature (surprise, unpleasant surprise, etc.) may be suggested. Some examples with transitive verbs:

yah tum kaise j ā n g a y e ? (Nāgārjun, p. 9) 'how did you find it out?'; a boy asks an old herdsman whose knowledge amazed him.

yah sab tum kahā̃ j ā n g a ī̃ ? (Miśra[1], p. 142) 'where did you learn all this?'; a young man asks a girl whose views are surprising.

Bihārī kā yah vaktṛtā Saty(a) pacā nahī̃ sakā. ... Kahā - "Bihārī, yah lekcar denā kab se s ī k h g a y e?" (Kumār[4], pp. 69-70) »Satya was not able to digest this oratorical statement of Bihārī ... He said: "Since when did you learn to give lectures like this?"«

26,13. It will not be insignificant to mention that, in Slavonic languages, there is an analogous phenomenon: a negative sentence with an imperfective or indeterminate verb has often an affirmative sentence with a perfective or determinate verb as its counterpart. But in a negative imperative, verbs of either type may be used: an imperfective verb to express a prohibition, a perfective verb to signify an urgent warning.[301]

Igor Němec, discussing the uses of determinate and indeterminate verbs in the early period of the development of Slavonic languages, says: "Negation changes a determinate action into an indeterminate one, for the fact that a concrete individual action does not take place actually means that the state of being unaffected by such an action continues: the negated action of the subject (the fact that the action of the subject does not take place) is in substance a state of the subject."[302]

This idea of Igor Němec is supported by the fact that, in Hindī, the use of absolutival constructions (denoting an action) with a negative is replaced by constructions with the adverbial 2nd (past, perfective) participle (denoting a state) in instances such as, e.g., *baccā dūdh p ī k a r so gayā* 'the child went to sleep after drinking (some) milk', but: *baccā dūdh p i y e b i n ā so gayā* 'the child went to sleep without having drunk (any) milk', not: *baccā dūdh n a p ī k a r so gayā.* This fact has been pointed out by Yamuna Kachru (see Kachru[1], pp. 105-106).

This very fact may account for the relatively infrequent occurrence of perfective modified verbal expressions in negative sentences: these expressions have developed from absolutival constructions (cf. above, no. 25,2).

26,21. A sort of "competition" between modified verbal expressions and their unmodified counterparts may appear even in affirmative declarative sentences. It will be of some interest to notice, e.g., the verbal forms used in acknowledging the receipt of a letter. In Y. Śarmā's handbook of Hindī correspondence, 188 letters have unmodified verbs in these formulae, not a single letter has a modified verbal expression. This cannot be regarded as a particular feature of Y. Śarmā's style as he does not avoid modified verbal expressions in other contexts.

āp kā nimantraṇ-patr(a) prāpt h u ā (Śarmā, Y., p. 16) 'I received your letter of invitation'; for more instances, see ib., pp. 18, 20, 23-26, 28, 29, 32, 41, 42, 44, 45, 47, etc.

āp kā patr(a) prāpt h u ā (Śarmā, Y., p. 60). 'I received your letter'; for more instances, see ib., pp. 61, 63, 64, 69, 70, 72, 73, 75, 77-79, 81-83, 86, 87, 90, 92, etc.; altogether, 167 instances with *prāpt huā.*

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[300] For the term "emotional negation", see Trávníček, p. 1460.

[301] Cf. Havránek, p. 225. - Kopečný[1], pp. 55-56; 59-61. - Kopečný[2], pp. 109, 114, 183-184. - Šmilauer, pp. 88-89.

[302] Němec[1], p. 33. - The term "determinate verbs" is used for verbs denoting an action directly aiming at a target, cf. Němec[1], p. 21.

tumhārā patr[(a)] m i l ā (Śarmā, Y., p. 135) 'I received your letter'; for more instances, see ib., pp. 137, 138, 166, 173, 182, 204, 212, 215, 243, 337, etc.; altogether, 21 instances with *milā.*

A glance at private letters of two Hindī writers will complete this picture. Among 40 letters of Vishṇu Prabhākar, 19 letters have the phrase *patr[(a)] milā,* three letters have a phrase with the verb *prāpt huā,* three with the verb *milā thā,* three with *mil gayā,* one with *prāpt ho gayā,* seven with *mil gayā thā* and four with *prāpt ho gayā thā.* All in all, unmodified verbs in 25 letters, and modified verbal expressions in 15 letters.

Among 26 letters of prof. Jagadīshchandra Jain, 21 letters have the phrase *patr[(a)] milā,* three letters have a phrase with the verb *milā thā,* and two with *mil gayā thā.*

āp ke donõ patr[(a)] m i l e (Prabhākar[9]) 'I received both letters of yours' (as you may have expected, as usual, etc., i.e., nothing interfered with the routine correspondence).

āp kā 26 mārc kā patr[(a)] yathāsamay prāpt h o g a y ā. Lekin maĩ idhar Barmā jāne kī taiyarī mẽ bahut vyast rahā, is lie uttar na de sakā (Prabhākar[9]) 'I received your letter of 26 March in due time (*though you may have been in fear that it did not reach me*). But I was very busy preparing for a journey to Burma, for this reason I was not able to reply.'

āp kā 15 mārc kā patr[(a)] ṭhīk samay par m i l g a y ā t h ā, parantu kāry[(a)]vaś mujhe bāhar jānā paṛā, is lie uttar dene mẽ der huī (Prabhākar[9]) 'I received your letter of 15 March in due time (*though you may have been in fear that it did not reach me*), but I had to go away on business, so my answer is late.'

āp kī pustak kī ek prati ākhir mujhe m i l hī g a ī (Prabhākar[9]) 'at last, I have received a copy of your book'- realization of the action pointed out.

ab kī bār uttar dene mẽ kuch vilamb ho gayā ... āp kā lekh yathāsamay m i l g a y ā t h ā (Jain[3]) 'this time (my) reply has been somewhat delayed (*contrary to your expectation*) ... I received (however) your paper in due time' (*though you may have been in fear that it did not reach me*).

Anyhow, an unmodified verb may also appear in a similar context:

āp ke sabhī patr[(a)] mujhe yathāsamay prāpt h u e. Lekin un dinõ bāhar rahne ke kāraṇ maĩ āp ko uttar na de sakā (Prabhākar[9]) 'I received all letters of yours in due time. But I was not able to reply to you as I was away at that time.'

26,22. These examples show that the frequency (or infrequency) and functions of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* constitute more intricate problems than some scholars believe. Paul Hacker writes: "Most intransitives expressing processes are much more frequently construed with *jānā* than with other auxiliaries or without any auxiliary; verbs denoting aggression are very often joined with *baiṭhnā;* and all these verbs seem to occur more often in such compounds than uncompounded. For *denā* and *jānā* (the latter in composition with intransitives) these observations of frequency bestow absolute security upon the definitions of the function of these auxiliaries."[303]

In reality, far from being "much more frequently construed with *jānā*", intransitive verbs very often occur in unmodified forms,[304] and, in these forms, they may even show a sort of "competition" with their modified counterparts. This will have to be taken into account, when analysing sentences such as

beṭī ke putr[(a)] h u ā (Premcand[4], p. 49) '(my) daughter gave birth to a son'; written by Premcand to his friend Jainendra Kumār; the birth of a child is mentioned as common (and probably expected) occurrence.

Śekhar, tumhārī ek aur bahin h o g a ī h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 136) 'Śekhar, you have got another sister'; said by a girl to her little brother; for the boy, it was a surprising and incomprehensible occurrence.

Anyhow, an unmodified verb may also refer to an unexpected action:

"Suno, Sarasvatī ke laṛkī h u ī h a i." - *Mã ne vismay se kahā "Aī abhī?"* (Ajñey[1], p. 162) "Listen, Sarasvatī gave birth to a girl." (My) mother said with surprise: "O! Already?"

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[303] Hacker[4], p. 510.

[304] Cf. the ratio of 188 to nil in the formulae of acknowledging the receipt of a letter in Y. Śarmā's handbook of Hindī correspondence, see above at no. 26,21. - For verbs demanding particular attention, see above, at no. 24.

26,23. In this connection, the use of unmodified verbs in complimentary phrases expressing pleasure, joy, etc. may be mentioned:

āp kā patr(a) prāpt huā aur paṛhkar hṛday mẽ asīm prasann(a)tā h u ī (Śarmā, Y., p. 245) 'I have received your letter and have been immensely pleased on reading it', lit., 'immense pleasure arose in my heart'; for more instances of this kind (or the alternative phrase *haṛṣ h u ā*), see ib. pp. 39, 44, 45, 47, 85, 86, 98, 135, 183, 201, 204, 207, 215, 247.

26,24. Attention may also be paid to this instance:

"Bhāī-bhābhī ne kuch nahĩ kahā?"
'Kahā kyõ nahĩ? Bhāī lāl-pīle h u e. Bhābhī ne veśyā tak kah ḍālā. Us ke bād donõ rāzī ho gaye' (Prabhākar[6], p. 36).

»"Didn't the brother and the sister-in-law say anything?"

'Oh yes, they did. The brother turned red (and) pale. The sister-in-law went to the extent of calling (me) a harlot. Afterwards, they both became reconciled (to that).'«

Here, in all probability, the use of *h u e* (and not *ho gaye*)[305] suggests that the semantic content (the alternating change of countenance) and not the realization of the action as such is pointed out. In fact, when not the realization of the action, but some other bearing of the action is pointed out, the unmodified verb is used.[306]

26,25. Similarly, in Slavonic languages, imperfective verbs are also employed to point out the semantic content (the quality, general character) of the action.[307] When, however, not the quality of the verbal action, but the fact itself is to be pointed out,[308] especially when attention is directed to the result of the action, the perfective verb is used.[309]

Thus, imperfectiveness does not mean that an imperfective verb always denotes an action as an unqualified process.[310] The imperfective verb may express one sort of qualification of the verbal action, the perfective verb another one.

26,31. Some instances of aspectual "competition" in Hindī have been observed by J. Burton-Page, but he does not apply the term "competition" to his findings. Examining the uses of "compound verbs", he has found out that, in some contexts ("contexts of situation"), either an unmodified verb ("simple verb"), or a modified verbal expression ("compound verb") may be used without the possibility of alternation. He gives examples of the use of modified verbal expressions ("compound verbs") with *denā* 'to give'. As the modified verbal expressions with *denā*[311] are mostly transitive, they rather often occur in aspectual "competition" with their unmodified counterparts. Thus, in this respect, they are more illustrative than those with *jānā*.

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[305] Referring to the quoted text, Vishṇu Prabhākar says in a private letter: *»'Bhāī lāl-pīle hue', is vāky(a) ke sthān par 'bhāī lāl-pīle ho gaye' denā y a h ã ṭhīk nahĩ hogā. Yũ yah vāky(a) bhī śuddh hai«.* »H e r e, it will not be correct to replace the sentence *'bhāī lāl-pīle hue'* by *'bhāī lāl-pīle ho gaye'*. Generally speaking, this sentence is also correct.«

[306] Cf. below, at no. 26,31-32.

[307] Cf. Havránek[1], p. 227. - Kopečný[1], pp. 53-54. - Kopečný[2], p. 100. - Trávníček, pp. 1359-1360. - Mathesius, pp. 197-200.

[308] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 61.

[309] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 54-55. - Mathesius, p. 197.

[310] Isačenko advocates another opinion, cf. Isačenko, p. 10: "Nedokonavý vid představuje děj označený slovesem jako nekvalifikovaný proces" ("The imperfective aspect represents the action denoted by the verb as an unqualified process").

[311] For their meaning, see below, at no. 28,4.

J. Burton-Page's examples read:[312]

α) *kyā us ne tumhẽ dūdh becā?* 'Did he sell you any milk?'
β) *kyā us ne tumhẽ dūdh bec diyā?* 'Did he sell you the milk' (*as was previously agreed*)?
γ) *kyā us ne tumhẽ do ser dūdh becā?* 'Did he sell you two seers of milk?' (*possible answer: No, only one*).
δ) *kyā us ne tumhẽ do ser dūdh bec diyā?* 'Did he sell you the two seers of milk?' (*possible answer: No, he hasn't done so yet*).
ε) *us ne tumhẽ kyā becā?* 'What did he sell you?' (*milk, or what?*).
ζ) *us ne tumhẽ kyā bec diyā!* 'What did he sell you!' (*i.e. he* '*sold you a pup'!*).
η) *us ne mujhe dūdh nahĩ becā* 'He didn't sell me any milk' (*but I bought some butter*).
θ) *us ne mujhe dūdh nahĩ bec diyā* 'He hasn't sold me the milk' (*yet, but I'm expecting him soon*).
ι) *us ne mujhe dūdh bec to nahĩ diyā, de hī diyā* 'He didn't sell me the milk, he gave it to me.'

26,32. Hacker, criticizing Burton-Page, states that the use of an unmodified verb or of a modified verbal expression does not depend on the situation alone,[313] and that, when *denā* is used, "attention is focused on the action as such".[314] Thus, Hacker implicitly admits that the perfective verbal aspect is expressed. In the speaker's mental apprehension, the action is represented in its full realization, inclusive of its final, resultant stage; the connection between the action and other factors (here, especially the object of the action) is presented as known. In such cases, the modified verbal expression is employed, see the examples *β*, *δ*. A similar case occurs when the realization of the action attracts attention by its striking character, by its unexpectedness, by its surprising result, and the like. Thus, in the example *ζ*, the object (result) of the action is known, but it is striking, being contrary to any expectation.[315]

When, on the other hand, the speaker's interest turns rather to the connection between the action and some of the factors lying outside it, then the unmodified verb is employed. This especially applies to the case when the realization of the action may be more or less presupposed and expected, and attention is focused, e.g., on the object of the action, see the examples *α*, *γ*, *ε*.

26,33. In negative sentences mostly unmodified verbs are used,[316] particularly when attention of the speaker is directed rather to the object of the action than to the fact that the action does not or did not take place, see the example *η*. Hacker's explanation that "negation usually precludes an explicit, contoured idea of an occurrence"[317] can hardly be regarded as satisfactory.

A negative modified verbal expression with *jānā* (and, in J. Burton-Page's examples, that with *denā)* suggests that attention is focused on the realization (or the absence of realization) of the action as such. J. Burton-Page's note that the speaker is expecting the realization of the action soon (the example *θ*) complies with general rules concerning the uses of perfective modified verbal expressions. In any case, the person of the speaker must also be taken into account: for some reason or other, the tendency to use the same type of verbs in both positive and

[312] Burton[2], p. 473. Transcription modified to agree with that adopted in this paper. The sentences are marked with the letters of the Greek alphabet to serve the purposes of this paper.
[313] Hacker[4], p. 496.
[314] Hacker[4], p. 497.
[315] For the ways of expressing an unexpected action, see also below, at no. 27,922.
[316] Cf. above, at nos. 26,11; 26,13.
[317] Hacker[1], p. 81. - Cf. also Hacker[4], p. 497.

negative sentences may prove more clear-cut in the speech of individuals than in the general usage of the language.

In the last example (*ı*), the two actions are contrasted with one another, the one being positive, the other one negative. Attention is not focused on the object of the action, but on the action itself as not realized in one case, and as realized in the other case. This accounts for the use of modified verbal expressions in both cases.

26,34. In the above examples, J. Burton-Page only illustrates the uses of the modified verbal expressions ('compound verbs') with *denā,* but his findings apply, in general, to all modified verbal expressions denoting the perfective verbal aspect. Anyhow, with intransitive verbs, the 'competition' of verbaI aspects is less frequent than with transitive verbs.

26,35. J. Burton-Page's analysis of the quoted examples is significant, but remains at halfway. The function of the verbal form in question must be analysed as carefully as the 'context of situation'. If the different shades of meaning parenthesized by J. Burton-Page depended upon the 'context of situation' alone, then one and the same verbal form could comply with any 'context of situation', as the 'context of situation' could so to speak impose the sense upon the verbal form. Such a supposition is certainly absurd.

J. Burton-Page says: "There may be (a) some contexts of situation where V- and VO (V- representing the same verb in each case) can alternate, and (b) some contexts where either V- or VO may be used, without the possibility of alternation."[318] Thus, the unmodified verb (V-, i.e., simple verb, in Burton-Page's terminology) and its modified counterpart (VO, i.e., verb *plus* operator, in Burton-Page's terminology) are not equally consistent with any context or situation. The reason of this functional discrepancy must be implied in the meaning of the verbal forms themselves, not in the 'context of situation' alone (the 'context of situation' does not impose the sense upon the verbal form). In this point, however, J. Burton-Page's paper fails to give any information, unless his parenthesized notes are regarded as referring to the meaning of the corresponding verbal forms in some way or other.

26,4. Discussing the 'alternation' and impossibility of alternation of 'simple verbs' with 'compound verbs', J. Burton-Page advisedly avoids the term 'verbal aspect'. He uses the term 'aspect' in another sense. He writes: "Transitivity [intransitive/transitive] and aspect [imperfective/perfective] are set up by reference to syntactical pattering within the sentence."[319] In a foot-note,[320] J. Burton-Page refers to a previous study of his[321] and to a paper published by W. S. Allen.[322] Allen discusses »the use of the "Imperfective" and "Perfective" forms of the Transitive verb« [323] but he does not employ the term "aspect". J. Burton-Page himself applies the terms "imperfective" and "perfective in aspect" to what he calls "participial forms".[324] Mentioning that *rahnā* may function "as an operator in either the

[318] Burton[2], p. 472.
[319] Burton[2], p. 469.
[320] Burton[2], p. 469, foot-note 6.
[321] Scil. to Burton[1], p. 95.
[322] Scil. to Allen, pp. 68-86.
[323] Allen, p. 70.
[324] Burton[1], p. 94.

imperfective or perfective aspect",[325] he remarks: *"rahnā* has sometimes been described as a 'marker of imperfective aspect'. This is unfortunate, since it leads to the use of 'aspect' at two different levels of description, the grammatical and the semantic; this sort of description is, presumably, transferred from the terminology of description of such languages as Russian, where 'aspect' is used primarily with a semantic significance, but may be readily associated with a formal criterion (e.g. the presence or absence of preverbs such as по-, на-, or of infixes such as -ва-, -ива-, etc.). In this paper 'aspect' refers to the grammatical level of analysis only; the term *Aktionsart* is suggested for use at the semantic level."[326]

J. Burton-Page's words are in some points inaccurate. Verbal aspect is a grammatical, not a semantic category.[327] Slavonic perfective verbs are partly prefixal compounds, partly simple verbs.[328] The term "Aktionsart" applies to modifications of a verbal action with regard to the lexical meaning of the verb,[329] verbal aspect by itself, on the other hand, does not imply modification of the lexical meaning of the verb.[330] Disregarding the difference between the verbal aspect and the "Aktionsart",[331] and using the term "aspect" with reference to a quite different phenomenon, viz. to the "grammatical level of analysis",[332] i.e., to "syntactical patterning within the sentence",[333] J. Burton-Page has only added to the confusion in the grammatical terminology.

26,5. J. Burton-Page's observation concerning "restrictions" of the uses of modified verbal expressions ('compound verbs') may be to some extent parallelled with what Bohemists have to say on the uses of verbs denoting the perfective or imperfective verbal aspects in Czech.

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[325] Burton[2], p. 471.

[326] Burton[2], p. 471, foot-note 2.

[327] Cf. above, at no. 1,8, and below, at nos. 27,921-4; 29,53.

[328] Cf. below, at no. 29,1.

[329] Cf., e. g., Gonda, p. 24; Maslov[1], p. 10. - Cf. also below, at no. 27,8 and footnote 389.

[330] Cf. above, at nos. 1,91-2.

[331] The difference between the verbal aspect and the "Aktionsart" has been repeatedly discussed by many scholars and, today, is accepted by most Slavicists and other philologists. For non-Slavonic languages, see, e. g., Gonda, pp. 24, 35, 46; Lienhard, pp. 18-20; Porzig, pp. 152-153. For Slavonic languages, see, e. g., Isačenko, pp. 13-16; Dostál, p. 39; Němec[2], p. 302; Havránek[1], p. 228; Maslov[1], p. 10. See also works mentioned by these scholars.

[332] Burton[2], p. 471.

[333] Burton[2], p. 469. - In this point, J. Burton-Page has been followed by Yamuna Kachru. She mentions sentences of "the Perfective Nominative-Ergative type", those of "the Imperfective Subject-Object type", and those "completely unrestricted as regards aspect" (Kachru[1], pp. 25, 27). In a recent study, she has adopted the terms "Non-Perfective sentences" and "Perfective sentences" (Kachru[2], p. 45). It is noticeable that Y. Kachru refers to W. S. Allen (*A Study in the Analysis of Hindi Sentence Structure*) "for a detailed description of aspect". (Kachru[1], p. 27, foot-note 9), though W. S. Allen does not discuss the problem of the verbal aspect and does not employ the term "aspect" anywhere in the quoted study. Allen (p. 70) says: "In Hindi we find two sharply contrasted types of sentence corresponding to the use of the "Imperfective" and "Perfective" forms of the Transitive verb." - On the other hand, with most of intransitive verbs and even with some transitive verbs, "imperfective" and "perfective" forms (i. e., *tense-forms!*) have one and the same construction, scil. the "imperfective" one, i. e., in the traditional terminology, *the construction with the nominative of the subject.* With most of transitive verbs and with some intransitive verbs, *the construction with the agentive* (case of the agent) is to be used *in the tenses formed from the 2nd* (past, "perfective") *participle.*

In contrast with the "aspects" as conceived by J. Burton-Page and Y. Kachru, A. Sharma takes the term "aspects" in the sense of "verb-forms denoting nature of action" (Sharma A., § 173 (b); p. 56). See below, at no. 28,1.

B. Havránek writes: "When we stress the g e n e r a l c h a r a c t e r, the q u a l i t y of the action, not its completion, we use the i m p e r f e c t i v e verb to denote even a completed action."[334] Similarly, F. Kopečný: "We shall only use the perfective forms when our attention turns to the result itself ... We have seen already that the moment of an unexpected result is expressed by perfective forms. For this reason, we ask "kdopak to okno *zavíral?"* ("who has been shutting the window?") when the chief thing we have in view is not the fact of shutting itself, this having been expected, but its quality (when, e.g., we find that he has not drawn it close, or that he has squeezed the cord of the roller-blind); asking, on the other hand; "kdopak to okno *zavřel?"* ("who has shut the window?") we inquire after the fact of shutting itself: who has been so bold as to shut it (contrary to common sense, in this situation)."[335] Or, we ask *Kdopak ti to d a l ?* ('Who gave it to you?'), or *Copak ti to d a l za cukr?!* ('What sort of sugar he has given you!') when the result of the action is surprising, contrary to expectation, etc. But we ask *Kdopak ti to d á v a l ?* ('Who gave it to you?') when the action has been expected, when its result is not surprising, e.g., when the thing has been ordered. (Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 54).

Trávníček gives a more detailed description: "By an imperfective verb, we express a past action really completed when its completion is self-evident and o t h e r c i r c u m s t a n c e s of the action come to the fore. This applies to four types of cases:

a) When the d o e r of t h e a c t i o n is of great importance to the speaker; e.g., ten obraz *maloval* Aleš (that picture was painted by Aleš); ...

b) When an a d v e r b i a l m o d i f i e r of the action is to be pointed out; e.g., Štítný *psal* některá díla pro své děti (Štítný wrote some works for his children). ...

c) When verbs denoting speech, t e l l i n g, are used; e.g., *říkal, vyprávěl (vypravoval), povídal, vykládal* mi to bratr (my brother said, told, related, it to me); ... Here, we use a perfective verb as well: *"řekl* mi to bratr (my brother said it to me); ...

d) When we want to point out the q u a l i t y of an action the result of which is expressed by a passive participle denoting a characteristic trait; e.g., paní Nováková, *rozená* Kolářová (Mrs. Nováková, born Kolářová); je to *rozený* básník (he is a born poet); ...

Here, again, perfectiveness is self-evident and the action is important for its objective significance itself, being a birth, descent ..."[336]

26,6. In addition to the restrictions mentioned above,[337] there is another significant restriction of the use of modified verbal expressions with *jānā:* they are uncommon in the form of an infinitive governed by a verb meaning 'to begin (doing something)', 'to stop (doing something)', and the like:

pardā g i r n e lagtā hai (Prabhākar[2], pp. 30, 41; Prabhākar[4], p. 84; Prabhākar[8], p. 36) 'the curtain begins to fall'; *pardā g i r j ā n e lagtā hai* would be incorrect. [338]

ṭ a h a l n ā choṛ do (Jain[3]; Prabhākar[9]) 'cease walking!'; *ṭ a h a l j ā n ā choṛ do* would be incorrect.[338]

b o l n ā band karo (Jain[3], Prabhākar[9]) 'stop talking!'; *bātẽ k a r j ā n ā band karo* would be incorrect.[338]

The verb denoting the phase of the action, however, may take either the unmodified form, or the modified one:

qalam syāhī se bharkar socne l a g ā (Ajñey[1], p. 152) 'he dipped (his) pen in ink and began to think', *lit.,* 'having filled (his) pen with ink, (he)... '

aur phir vah socne l a g g a y ā (Ajñey[1], p. 160) 'and, again, he began to think.'

26,7. In this point, again, there is a certain analogy with Slavonic languages: in Slavonic languages, a perfective infinitive cannot be used after verbs denoting phase of an action. Such verbs determine themselves the meaning of perfectiveness

[334] Havránek[1], p. 226.
[335] Kopečný[1], pp. 54-55. Cf. also Kopečný[2], p. 100.
[336] Trávníček, pp. 1359-1361. Cf. also Mathesius, pp. 197-200.
[337] Cf. above, at nos. 28,1-2.
[338] Jain[3]; Prabhākar[9].

or imperfectiveness as conveyed by the combination, and the main verb in the infinitive remains neutral in respect of verbal aspect.[339] This feature of Slavonic verbs is regarded as the most reliable criterion of the verbal aspect. Kopečný says:

"Imperfective verbs must simply be defined, if a precise definition is to be given, grammatically only, as verbs unmarked with regard to perfectiveness which can be used after verbs denoting phase and after the verb *budu* (in the periphrastic future). This non-semantic, formal feature is the most reliable criterion of the aspect."[340]

27,1. In Hindī dictionaries, modified verbal expressions are never given separate entries. When mentioned at all, they are treated under the headings of the corresponding unmodified verbs.[341] Indeed, modified verbal expressions can never be semantically separated from their unmodified counterparts, even in that case not, when the modification of the meaning is connected with a certain restriction of the semantic content of the verb.[342]

If the raison d'être of modified verbal expressions does not belong to the sphere of semantics and lexicology, it must be looked for somewhere else. Paul Hacker believes to have found it in the domain of stylistics. He writes:

"The explicative verbs are to a certain extent logically dispensable, though, when they are present, the statement is somehow different than when they are missing. Their use depends largely upon the judgement of the speaker. They are a stylistic means."[343]

The stylistic value of modified verbal expressions is described by Hacker thus: "Explicative auxiliaries frequently occur in unconnected statements in conversation and in answers to questions, or in narration if an individual event is singled out from a chain of events, or if the result of a chain of events is stated, or at certain pauses of the narration. These cases show that by the use of explicatives actions are, firstly, *individualized* and thereby, secondly, represented as *significant.* The occurrence of *many* auxiliaries, especially of explicatives, in a text or passage is characteristic of contemplative style and of comparisons."[344]

Hacker's words fairly indicate that modified verbal expressions occur in any sort of style. They are really met with in colloquial as well as in literary language, in both polite literature and in scientific treatises. In other words, their raison d'être is not connected with any particular sort of style as such. Their occurrence in one sort of style may be more frequent than in another just as, e.g., the occurrence of passive voice, or of absolutival constructions, etc., may be more frequent in one sort of style than in another. From this fact, however, it does not follow that the modified verbal expressions, passive voice, absolutival constructions, etc., are nothing but stylistic means, or that their raison d'être is to serve stylistic purposes.

27,2. As the modified verbal expressions are easily dissociable formations constituting no stable lexical units semantically separated from their unmodified counterparts, it must *a priori* be expected that any semantic definition of these expressions will be controversial. This applies even to the largely accepted opinion

[339] Havránek[1], p. 216. Cf. also Kopečný[2], p. 139.

[340] Kopečný[1], p. 11. - *budu*, lit., 'I shall be', is the auxiliary used to form the periphrastic future.

[341] In Platts's Dictionary, examples may be found, e. g., s. vv. *ānā, uṭhnā, uṛnā, girnā, baiṭhnā,* etc.

[342] Cf. above, at no. 24.

[343] Hacker[1], p. 80: "Die explizierenden Verben sind in gewissem Ausmaß logisch entbehrlich, obwohl die Aussage, wenn sie da sind, irgendwie anders ist, als wenn sie fehlen. Ihre Verwendung hängt weitgehend vom Ermessen des Sprechers ab. Sie sind Stilmittel."

[344] Hacker[4], p. 516.

that these expressions denote completeness,[345] or fullness,[346] of the action signified by the simple absolutive of the main verb.

This opinion comes very near to what is generally regarded as the perfective verbal aspect. A. P. Barannikov writes:

"... as all compound verbs show the capacity of denoting completeness of an action, the functions of the formative verbs approximate to the functions of prefixes in Russian perfective verbs formed with prefixes: от-дать, у-пасть, раз-бить, etc. "[347]

Consequently, A. P. Barannikov translates Hindī modified verbal expressions into Russian by perfective verbs[348] and other Russian scholars generally follow his example. Beskrovnyj says explicitly: "The intensive verbs are translated into Russian by prefixal verbs of the perfective aspect."[349] Ulciferov observes this rule in his Hindī-Russian dictionary almost without exception.[350]

The terms "perfective", "perfectiveness" are less objectionable than "completive", "completiveness", "completeness". By a completed action, a past action is generally meant. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā*, on the other hand, may denote a past action, or a future action, or an action indifferent to any position in the time sphere, etc.[351]

Besides, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* show a certain indifference to the stage of the action to be pointed out. They denote an action with a particular aiming at its full realization, i.e., inclusive of its final and resultant stage, sometimes, however, with a special bearing upon the beginning of the action. This is the case when the ingressive meaning squares with the semantic content of the main verb and is required by the given context or situation.[352]

27,3. Analogous problems are connected with the terminology and definitions of the perfective verbal aspect in Slavonic languages. B. Havránek has these definitions: »The p e r f e c t i v e v e r b expresses an action as limited in some way or other, an i m p e r f e c t i v e one as simply in progress without limitation. The p e r f e c t i v e verb, above all, expresses a completed action (*doběhl* 'he got [somewhere] running', *přinesl* 'he brought', *bodl* 'he stabbed'), but it may also point out the beginning of an action (*rozběhl se* 'he started running'), or its delimitation in respect of time (*poseděl* 'he remained sitting for some time'); always, however, it expresses an action conceived as a c l o s e d w h o l e. For this reason, we call it "limited":«[353]

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[345] Cf. Sharma, A., p. 88: completion; Kellogg, p. 260: finality, completeness; - Bailey[2], p. 18: a suggestion of completeness; - Bailey[3], p. 72: involving change of state, finality or completeness; - Harley, p. 59: *jānā;* when added to an intransitive verb it usually contributes only a sense of completeness; - Barannikov[2], p. 1287 (cf. also Barannikov[1], p. 129): «Образующий глагол *jānā* уходить, удаляться, сочетается обычно с глаголами непереходными. Осложняет значение главного глагола понятием удаления, а часто - только законченности.» - Vale, pp. 79-81: Completives.

[346] Guru, p. 397: *pūrṇ(a)tā ke arth mẽ;* - Sharma, S., p. 185: completeness and fullness of action.

[347] Barannikov[1], pp. 127-128: «...так как всем сложным глаголам свойственно выражать законченность действия, то функции образующих глаголов близки к функциям префиксов в русских глаголах совершенного вида с приставками: *от-дать, у-пасть, раз-бить* и т. д. ».

[348] Cf. Barannikov[1], pp. 129-136; Barannikov[2], pp. 1287-1289.

[349] Beskrovnyj[3], p. 807: «Интенсивные глаголы на русский язык переводятся префиксальными глаголами совершенного вида, напр. "забрать", "прочитать", "разлить" и т. п.».

[350] Cf. above, at no. 1,5.

[351] For non-actual present, see above, at nos. 10,1-8.

[352] Cf. above, at nos. 22,1-3; 23,2.

[353] Havránek[1], p. 219. - H. Kølln (p. 136) says: "... das Perfektivum bezeichnet die Erreichung des Schlußpunkts der Handlung."

Havránek's wording "an action conceived as a c l o s e d w h o l e", stressing the whole, may seem to exclude the cases where the beginning of an action is pointed out. Besides, to repeat the objection raised by F. Kopečný, the distinction between the perfective and imperfective verbs is not precisely expressed: an imperfective verb, too, may denote an action as a closed whole, e.g., in the sentence *"slyšels, co jsem říkal?"* ("Have you heard what I have said?").[354] The same argument may be adduced against any definition identifying the perfectiveness with the complex,[355] global, or total, conception of the action.[356]

27,41. When taken in the sense of factualness,[357] i.e. with a view to the action as a fact, the perfectiveness may apply to an action as a whole (including its final, resultant stage), or to its initial phase when ingressive meaning is imparted.

Not incoveniently, all the features relevant to the perfective verbal aspect are summed up by J. Gonda in a brief statement: when expressed 'perfectively', the verbal idea is presented as 'limited', viewed as a whole, as a fact, an 'Ereignis'.[358]

Still, all these features may also apply to an action as expressed by an imperfective verb: in certain contexts or situations, an imperfective verb (or an unmodified verb, as in Hindī) may denote an action as perfective.

27,42. Discussing the uses of past-tense forms of imperfective and perfective verbs in Czech, František Daneš says:

"... thus, in respect of completion (result) of the action, the imperfective verb is neutral, indefinite, virtually ambiguous; ... whereas the perfective verb explicitly and unambiguously expresses completion (result) of the action, the imperfective verb, on the other hand, cannot be said not to be expressive of this completion (result) of the action though it cannot be said to be expressive of it either - the imperfective verb simply disregards the completion (result) of the action, it leaves it unnoticed. Thus, the aspectual meaning of imperfective verbs is broader, more general and, consequently, more indefinite."[359]

Similarly, Josef Zubatý:

"The difference is that the compound verb is more definite than the uncompounded one."[360] By the compound verb, Zubatý means the perfective verb formed with a prefix, e.g., "zastřelil zajíce" ('he shot a hare dead') as opposite to the uncompounded imperfective verb, e.g., "střelil zajíce" ('he shot a hare'). Dealing with the difference between "zdraviti" ('to greet') and "pozdraviti" ('to greet'), Zubatý says: "Here, any indistinctness is out of question; in the compound *pozdraviti,* the prefix only affords the uncompounded verb the significance of the perfective verbal aspect, and the proper meaning of the form *zdraviti* cannot be doubtful to anybody ..."[361] Thus, the difference in explicitness is not always relevant to the sense of the statement.

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[354] Kopečný[1], p. 10.

[355] The term "complex" is used, e. g., by Poldauf[1], p. 204; Poldauf[2], p. 1188; Němec[1], p. 12; Němec[2], p. 303; Kopečný[1], p. 9; Kopečný[2], p. 100, 108. - The term "complexive" is used e. g., by Herman, p. 208 ("komplexiv"); Lienhard, p. 21 ("komplexiv"); Dostál, p. 15 ("komplexivnost").

[356] Cf., e. g., Maslov, p. 20: «В последнее время, пожалуй, найбольшее признание получила точка зрения (фактически выдвигавшаяся еще в XIX в. в работах Й. Черного и Л. П. Размусена), согласно которой общее значение совершенного вида определяется как целостность действия, его целостное, 'комплексное', синтетическое представление.» - Dostál, p. 629: "Dans la correlation des aspects, la perfectivité est le membre essentiel et signifie *la conception globale de l'action verbale* par le sujet parlant." - Poldauf[2], p. 1188: "One of the sets is *perfective* and presents an action as a complex fact, the other is *imperfective* and presents an action in its course of development." - Němec[2], p. 303: "Dokonavý vid vyjadřuje děj pojatý jako semknutý celek (děj komplexní)."

[357] "Faktovost", cf. Kopečný[1], p. 10; Kopečný[2], p. 100.

[358] Gonda, p. 29.

[359] Daneš, p. 2.

[360] Zubatý, p. 35.

[361] Zubatý, p. 38.

27,43. Taking, with Bohuslav Havránek,[362] the perfectiveness as a "mark" characterizing the verbal action as expressed by a perfective verb, imperfective verbs appear to be "unmarked" with regard to perfectiveness. Consequently, the aspectual meaning of imperfective verbs is "more indefinite",[363] that of perfective verbs is "more definite".[364] In other words, perfective verbs (and perfective verbal expressions, as in Hindī), denote the perfectiveness directly, by themselves, *per se*, imperfective verbs (and unmodified verbs, as in Hindī), when denoting perfectiveness at all, signify it indirectly, by virtue of a certain context or situation.[365]

Thus, the perfective verbal aspect is the capacity of a verb (or, of a verbal expression, as in Hindī) to denote an action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final, resultant, stage, sometimes, however, pointing out the beginning of the action, or - as in Slavonic languages[366] - its limitation in respect of time.

27,5. The final, resultant stage of an action must be distinguished from the state resulting from the action: to signify such a state, other means of expression are used, e.g., in Hindī, perfect and past perfect tenses.[367] As regards Slavonic languages, it may be mentioned what K. Hausenblas has to say to this point:

"Otherwise, in Slavonic languages, "perfect" tenses (real tenses!) have not developed. This is undoubtedly connected with the fact that, here, completed actions differ from uncompleted ones by the verbal acpect, by their perfectiveness. Of course, the perfective verbs express the completed action as a process, not as a result of the action, as a resulting state (this is sometimes confused in treatises dealing with the verbal aspect); this is why the forms of the resultant state treated of in this paper are being formed to a great extent."[368]

Hausenblas's wording "the perfective verbs express the completed action as a process" is objectionable. The perfective verb denotes an action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, i.e., inclusive of its final, resultant stage.

Difficulties connected with the definition of the "resultativeness" of the perfective verbs show that the perfectiveness should not be identified with the "resultativeness". Kopečný believes that the terms resultativeness and closeness, globalness ("complexness") may be regarded as synonymous.[369] But this opinion will hardly meet with general approval.

After all, as mentioned by Dostál, the definition identifying the perfectiveness with resultativeness of the action takes no account of perfective verbs not implying any result of the action.[370]

27,6. In Hindī, factualness of the action expressed by modified verbal expressions has been observed by Paul Hacker. He states that when the modifying verb ("operator") *denā* is used, "attention is focused on the action as such and the

[362] Havránek[1], p. 219. - Cf. also Kopečný[1], p. 9; Dostál, p. 15.
[363] Daneš, p. 2.
[364] Zubatý, p. 35.
[365] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 8, 10; Kopečný[2], pp. 12, 100, 107. - See also above, at nos. 1,9; 2,1; 2,4; 2,8.
[366] Havránek[1], p. 219, cf. above, at no. 27,3.
[367] Cf. above, at nos. 3,1-2; 4,1.
[368] Hausenblas, p. 23, foot-note 21.
[369] Kopečný[2], p. 100, foot-note 25.
[370] Dostál, p. 14.

expression has, therefore, the mode of definiteness".[371] Similarly, in respect of the function of *jānā:* "Explicating the idea of the process, the expression becomes more definite, more precise, more contoured in the same way as the idea of transitiveness is expanded by *denā."*[372]

Paul Hacker reaches this conclusion:

» ... the above-mentioned semantic elements of *jānā* and *baiṭhnā* closely correspond with features common to the meanings of verbs compounded with them. This leads to the conclusion, firstly, that the use of an auxiliary may be called forth by a feature of the meaning of the verb compounded with it; secondly, that an element of the meaning of the auxiliary combines with that feature to render more definite and explicit - to explicate - the expression of what the main verb would denote, though less definitely, even in its uncompounded form. Thus the most general definition of the function of eight auxiliaries (*denā, lenā, jānā, ānā, paṛnā, uṭhnā, ḍālnā, baiṭhnā*) is arrived at: they *explicate* the meaning of the main verb and impart *definiteness* to the expression. Therefore I have termed this class of auxiliaries "explicatives".«[373]

Thus, Paul Hacker has found out some features characteristic of the perfective verbal aspect: attention focused on the action as such, definiteness, more precise expression of the action. Indeed, perfective verbs sometimes impart more definiteness, more precise expression, of the action,[374] because they denote the action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, i.e., inclusive of its final, resultant, stage. The imperfective verb is unmarked in this respect.

Examining modified verbal expressions from the semantic point of view, P. Hacker was not able to find out any grammatical function of these expressions. He almost reached the definition of the perfective verbal aspect, then, however, he directed his attention to the fact that the use of 'compound verbs' is to some extent optional, and, in conclusion, he states the 'compound verbs' to be stylistic means. But semantic examination must combine with the analysis of functions of these expressions as compared with the uses of their unmodified counterparts. This analysis shows that modified verbal expressions have functions of their own, different from those of unmodified verbs. Modified verbal expressions and their unmodified counterparts cannot alternate in any context or situation,[375] nor can they be arbitrarily and indiscriminately used in any tense,[376] or in any sort of sentences.[377] Their proper character can only be found out by a detailed grammatical examination.

27,7. Z. M. Dymšic's short exposition concerning the modified verbal expressions ("intensive verbs") seems to be based on semantic considerations, too. At the same time; however, Dymšic is aware of the aspectual meaning of the expressions in question:

»The helping (formative) verb either imports the additional meaning of a direction of the action, or determines the qualitative character of the process of the action. In the first case, its meaning approximates to the meaning of verbal prefixes in Russian. When, however, determining the qualitative

[371] Hacker[4], p. 497, with reference to Hacker[1], § 15, p. 13; § 33, p. 27, § 89, p. 77.

[372] Hacker[1], § 33, p. 27: "Durch die Explizitmachung des Vorgangsbegriffes wird der Ausdruck b e s t i m m t e r, präziser, konturierter, ebenso wie bei *denā* durch die Entfaltung des Transitivitäts-begrifffes".

[373] Hacker[4], p. 509.

[374] Cf. above, at no. 27,42.

[375] Cf. above, at no. 26,3.

[376] Cf. above, esp. at nos. 1,94; 8-10.

[377] Cf. above, at nos. 26,1-2; 26,6.

character of the process of the action - intensiveness, fullness of completion of the action, suddenness, unexpectedness - it has an aspectual meaning.«"[378]

Mentioning the modifying ("formative") verb *jānā*, Dymšic says: »*jānā* 'to go', 'to go away'. It combines with both intransitive and transitive verbs. It suggests the direction of an action away from the object and fullness of its completion, e.g., *lauṭ jānā* 'to return' (to another place), *nikal jānā* 'to go forth', *dauṛ jānā* 'to run away'.«[379]

Dymšic's wording "fullness of completion of the action" and his Russian equivalents of the Hindī examples show that his words "aspectual meaning" are intended to mean the perfective verbal aspect. Suddenness and unexpectedness of an action are really semantic criteria applying in many cases to modified verbal expressions with *jānā* in Hindī as well as to perfective verbs in Slavonic languages.[380]

Anyhow, the modifying (helping, formative) verb itself does not convey any aspectual meaning: it has the function of a grammatical word. The aspectual meaning is imparted by the modified verbal expression as such. And the perfective verbal aspect cannot be regarded as "determining the qualitative character of the process of the action". Dymšic apparently intended to express the contrast to the cases when the idea of a direction of the action is suggested. The opinion that the modifying ("formative") verb *jānā* suggests direction of the action has also been put forward by T. E. Katenina. The idea of a direction of the action, however, is implied in the semantic content of the main verb itself.[381]

27,8. Recently, the problem of verbal aspects in Hindī has been treated by Siegfried Lienhard. He believes that, in Hindī, there is an aspectual polarity based on participles: the present participle ("partizipium praesentis") is the constituent element of the imperfective aspect and the perfect participle ("partizipium perfecti") is the constituent element of the perfective aspect (objectivized as preterite).[382]

Comparing the uses of the imperfect and preterite tenses, S. Lienhard says:

"In Hindī, too, we observe that, when the preterite immediately follows the imperfect, the imperfect denotes an action in progress in the past, or, with verbs of state, a state in the past (imperfective aspect), the preterite, on the other hand, expresses another action falling into the given situation as into the background of what is taking place (perfective aspect)."[383] "The imperfect is just expressive of progress of an action (it is imperfective), it is a means of description, the preterite, however, being perfective, is a means of statement and narration."[384]

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[378] Dymšic[2], p. 1110: »Служебный (образующий) глагол либо вносит добавочное значение направления действия, либо определяет качественный характер протекания этого действия. В первом случае его значение приближается к значению русских глагольных приставок. Когда же им определяется качественный характер протекания действия - интенсивность, полнота завершения действия, внезапность, неожиданность, он имеет видовое значение.« - Cf. also Dymšic[1], p. 106.

[379] Dymšic[2], p. 1111: »*jānā* "идти", "уходить". Сочетается как с непереходными, так и с переходными глаголами. Указывает на направление действия от предмета и на полноту его совершения, напр. *laoṭ jānā* "возвратиться" (в другое место), *nikal jānā* "выйти", *daoṛ jānā* "убежать".«

[380] Cf. below, at no. 27,92.

[381] Cf. above, at no. 24,5.

[382] Lienhard, p. 21.

[383] Lienhard, p. 158: "Wir beobachten, daß auch in der Hindī bei unmittelbarer Abfolge Imperfekt : Präteritum das Imperfekt eine in Gang befindliche Handlung der Vergangenheit, bzw. bei Zustandsverben einen Zustand, zum Ausdruck bringt (imperfektiver Aspekt), das Präteritum dagegen eine in die gegebene Situation als den Hintergrund des Geschehens hineinbrechende andere Handlung (perfektiver Aspekt)."

[384] Lienhard, p. 140: "Das Imperfekt ist eben kursiv (imperfektiv) und beschreibend, das Präteritum aber konstativ (perfektiv) und berichtend."

In contrast to this, Paul Hacker says that, in Hindī, durative and iterative actions may also be denoted by the preterite.[385] P. Hacker is right. In Hindī, the preterite is not necessarily expressive of the perfective verbal aspect. In other words, it has no inherent aspect-meaning, it is unmarked with regard to verbal aspect.[386]

Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* ("actional formations" - aktionale Bildungen),[387] are not classified by Lienhard as aspectual expressions, but as "modes of verbal action" (Aktionsart),[388] i.e. as verbal formations describing general features of the progress of an action as it objectively appears to the speaker; in the main, the 'Aktionsart' only refers to the quantity of the action.[389]

But, in respect of quantity of the action, there is no difference between, e.g., *girtā hai* 'he falls' and *gir jātā hai* 'he falls (down)', between *āyā* 'he came' and *ā gayā* 'he came', etc.

pardā girtā hai (Prabhākar[4], pp. 26, 110, 158) 'the curtain falls'
pardā g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[4], p. 173) 'the curtain falls (down)'
Dev(a)dās gāṛī chūṭne ke bād pleṭfārm par āyā (Gupt, p. 5) 'Devadās arrived on the platform when the train had (already) started'
vah dekho, Dev(a)dās ā g a y ā (Gupt, p. 7) 'look, there has arrived Devadās'.

After all, in negative sentences, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are relatively rare, and unmodified verbs are used instead, expressing the same quantity of the action as their modified counterparts do in affirmative sentences.[390] If the quantity of the action is the same, then the "mode of verbal action" (Aktionsart) is also the same.

S. Lienhard also mentions the "ingressive"[391] and "conclusive-effective"[392] functions of *jānā.* In reality, however, *jānā* does not add any idea of ingressiveness nor that of conclusiveness and effectiveness to the meaning of the expression. The idea of ingressiveness is involved in the semantic content of the main verb itself; by the modified verbal expression, this shade of meaning is just pointed out.[393] The modifying verb *jānā* is only a grammatical word. A particular case, however, arises when the action expressed by the simple absolutive of the main verb may be regarded as subsequent to that signified by *jānā*.[394]

As to the idea of conclusiveness and effectiveness, this shade of meaning cannot be, strictly speaking, identified with the function of *jānā:* the modifying verb *jānā*

[385] Hacker[3], p. 216: »Außerdem zeigt das Beispiel von neuem, daß im Hindī auch im Präteritum durative und iterative Ereignisse ausgedrückt werden können. Der Begriff "durativ" ist hierbei nicht im Gegensatz zu "abgeschloßen" zu verstehen, sondern im Gegensatz zu "punktuell".«
[386] Cf. above, at nos. 2,3-7.
[387] Lienhard, p. 162.
[388] Lienhard, pp. 18-21; 66; 69-72; 81; 121; 124-125; etc.
[389] Lienhard, p. 18: »Als A k t i o n s a r t e n gelten gemeinhin Verbalbildungen, welche die allgemeinen Merkmale eines Handlungsverlaufes beschrieben, wie sich derselbe dem Sprechenden objektiv darstellt. Persönliche Teilnahme des Sprechers ist durchaus möglich, spielt aber nur eine untergeordnete Rolle. Denn wie W. v. Wartburg und P. Zumthor ... dargetan haben, zielt die Aktionsart im Wesentlichen nur darauf ab, das Quantitative eines Geschehens zu repräsentieren. "Die Aktionsart mißt die Quantität des als solchen betrachteten Vorgangs" (Bally).«
[390] Cf. above, at no. 26,1.
[391] Lienhard, pp. 71, 125.
[392] Lienhard, p. 125.
[393] Cf. above, at nos. 22,1-3; 23,1-2.
[394] Cf. above, at no. 25,5.

does not serve to signify conclusion of an action.[395] Indeed, a modified verbal expression with *jānā* denotes an action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, i.e., inclusive of its final, resultant, stage. But this meaning is not involved in the semantic content of *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away', differing, in this point, from *cuknā* 'to come to an end', 'to have finished doing something'.[396] The meaning of perfectiveness only arises from the close combination of the two components, the simple absolutive of the main verb with the modifying verb *jānā,* provided that *jānā* is grammaticalized.

Lienhard's treatment of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is mainly based upon his opinion that these expressions may impart the idea of progress and continuance of an action.[397] But this opinion is not supported by any documentary evidence and has been rejected by Paul Hacker and K. de Vreese.[398]

27,91. Siegfried Lienhard regards verbal aspects as subjective forms of perception.[399] The opinion that verbal aspects are an expression of a subjective mental apprehension is rather often met with. This idea was illustrated by examples from Old Greek by Eduard Hermann[400] in 1927 and has been much discussed ever since. Today, however, this view is gradually being abondoned.[401]

Sometimes, the speaker or writer may have the liberty of choosing between a perfective and an imperfective verb. From this, however, it does not follow that the verb used has no objective value. In a given context or situation, an imperfective verb may be expressive of the same idea as its perfective counterpart: in fact, the context or situation may supply what is not directly expressed by the verb used. Discussing the difference in meaning between "střelil zajíce" ('he shot a hare') and "zastřelil zajíce" ('he shot a hare dead'), J. Zubatý says: "It depends, again, on the will of the speaker, if he wishes to suggest its result" (i.e. the result of a shot).[402]

In other cases, however, the very context or situation may preclude alternation of imperfective and perfective verbs.[403] Hence, Fr. Kopečný is right when he says:

"Subjectivity of a speaker's mental attitude towards reality is incontestable. This subjectivity, however, in no way necessitates the conclusion that the difference between the meanings conveyed by rival means of expression is subjective as well. These differences are objective and there is no other choice but to try to solve them."[404]

The subjectivity of the mental attitude as reflected in the choice of aspectual forms is mentioned by Y. S. Maslov:

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[395] For the idea of "completeness" as expressed by the modified verbal expressions with *jānā,* see above, at no. 27,2.

[396] Cf. below, at no. 28,3.

[397] Cf. Lienhard, pp. 70, 71, 225.

[398] Hacker[5], pp. 161-162; de Vreese, pp. 212-213. - Cf. above, at no. 24,33.

[399] Lienhard, p. 21: "In diesen subjektiven Anschauungsformen, wie man nunmehr mit Recht die Aspekte bezeichnet, richtet der Sprecher den Blick entweder unmittelbar in die Geschehensmitte des phantasiemäßig als Verlauf vergegenwärtigten Vorgangs (imperfektiver bzw. kursiver Aspekt) oder erlebt eine Handlung als ein komplexes, totales Anschauungsfeld (perfektiver oder komplexiver Aspekt)."

[400] Hermann, pp. 208-210.

[401] Cf., e. g., Maslov, p. 11. - Dostál, p. 43. - Kopečný[1], p. 53.

[402] Zubatý, p. 35.

[403] Cf. above, at no. 26,5.

[404] Kopečný[1], p. 53.

"The forms of opposite aspects very often denote one and the same fact of the objective reality only observed from different points of view, in different connection with other facts, in different textual or non-textual context."[405] At the same time, however, Maslov points out: "The idea of actions realized in the aspect is by no means purely subjective. It usually reflects either 1) objective features of these actions or 2) objectively existing relations (in particular, temporal relations) between the actions described ... ... Only rarely the choice of the aspect is made with individual arbitrariness. ..."[406]

In general, the same also applies to the use of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* and their unmodified counterparts in Hindī. Sometimes, they may alternate without affecting the sense of the statement: hence the cases of option or selection as observed by Paul Hacker.[407] But the option or selection are often limited. The speaker may have, e.g., the freedom of choice between expressing an action as in progress or as not in progress. But choosing the first alternative, he has to use an appropriate verbal form. Besides, replacing an unmodified verb by its modified counterpart, an actual present may be shifted to a nonactual one.[408] After all, the freedom of choice is not the same in any sort of sentences (affirmative declarative, interrogative, negative),[409] nor in any context and situation.[410]

27,921. Even when denoting one and the same action, unmodified verbs and their modified counterparts with *jānā* present the verbal action in two different ways conditioning a significant difference in their functions. The functional range of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is narrower, more restricted than that of unmodified verbs. This applies to their uses in various sorts of sentences, contexts, and situations, and, in particular, to the function of their present-tense form. Restricting the meaning of their present-tense form within the limits of the non-actual present, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* certainly fulfil a grammatical function and constitute a particular grammatical category.

27,922. Grammaticality of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is closely connected with the grammaticalization of the modifying verb. If *jānā* is not grammaticalized, no perfective verbal expression is formed. In fact, the process of grammaticalization is not closed, and, in individual statements of a speaker or writer, a combination resembling, in form, common modified verbal expression may prove to be something different (cf. Dymšic's observation concerning the formation of "intensives" immediately in speech in any individual case).[411] A full grammaticalization may even prove to be impossible. Thus, *le jānā* 'to take away' has no adequate counterpart in the simple verb *lenā* 'to take', consequently, it must be regarded as unmarked with regard to verbal aspect: it may convey the meaning of a perfective verbal aspect in some contexts or situations, and exclude

[405] Maslov[1], p. 11: «Формы противоположных видов очень часто обозначают один и тот же факт объективной действительности, лишь рассматриваемый с разных точек зрения, в разной связи с другими фактами, в разном языковом или в неязыковом контексте.»

[406] Maslov, p. 11: «Представление о действиях, воплощенное в виде, никак не является чисто субъективным. Обычно оно отражает либо 1) объективные свойства этих действий, либо 2) объективно существующие отношения (в частности, хронологические) между описываемыми действиями ... Лишь изредка мы встречаемся при выборе вида с индивидуальным произволом ...»

[407] Hacker[4], pp. 514-516. Cf. above, at no. 27,6.

[408] Cf. above, at no. 10,1.

[409] Cf. above, at nos. 26,11-13.

[410] Cf. above, at no. 26,21-35.

[411] Cf. above, at no. 25,8, and the foot-note 294.

this meaning in other contexts and situations. This is why *le jānā* may take the function of the actual present, cf. above, at no. 21,3.

In Hindī, as in other languages, some words may retain or lose their lexical meaning in compliance with their grammatical functions. When used as lexical and, at the same time, grammatical words (i.e. as lexical-grammatical words), they retain their lexical meaning and simultaneously impart a certain grammatical meaning according to the syntactic function they fulfil. When used as mere grammatical words, they lose their lexical meaning and convey a grammatical meaning only. The function actually fulfilled by the word is sometimes difficult to specify.

Thus, several absolutives and participles retain their lexical meaning and verbal force when used as lexical-grammatical words; but they lose both their lexical meaning and verbal force when used as mere grammatical words: then they fulfil the function of postpositions or conjunctions. We have, e.g., *hokar* 1. 'having been'; 2. 'through', 'via'; 3. 'as'; *lekar* 1. 'having taken'; 2. 'with'; *liye, lie* 1. 'having with', 'having (in one's hand)'; 2. 'for', 'on account of', etc.

Hence, the fact that *jānā* combined with the simple absolutive of a main verb may be grammaticalized in one case and remain ungrammaticalized in another one is no isolated phenomenon in Hindī.

27,923. In the point of their grammaticality, the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may, again, be parallelled with the perfective verbs of Slavonic languages. In Slavonic languages, the perfective verbal aspect is almost generally regarded as a grammatical category. To support this view, various sorts of evidence have been given. Thus, A. Dostál says:

"I emphasize that I regard the aspects as a grammatical, not semantic, category; this is, after all, generally accepted today. The knowledge of the aspectual systems cannot be acquired by analysing the vocabulary of a given language, but by analysing grammatical functions of the aspects, though, in my opinion, it is a matter of great importance to take lexical meanings into account as well."[412]

Igor Němec gives these reasons for his standpoint:

"We regard the category of verbal aspect as a grammatical one, because, on the whole, the formation of aspectual couples is already independent of the lexical meaning of a verb, and because the notional category of complexness / non-complexness is here expressed by essentially formal means: the difference in meaning between the perfectiveness and imperfectiveness is expressed by elements adding no new lexical meaning to the basic verb, but only changing its aspect."[413]

Ivan Poldauf regards the verbal aspect as a grammatical category because it is based upon grammatical abstraction (as opposed to lexical abstraction).[414] In F. Kopečný's opinion, the most relevant feature is the connection of the verbal aspect with the tense:

"Because the tense is regarded as a grammatical category, the verbal aspect must be regarded as a grammatical category, too, for its individual forms differ also in their temporal meaning."[415] Besides, semantic arguments may be adduced: 1) The very impossibility of defining the basic aspectual contrast between the perfectiveness and imperfectiveness by semantic means. 2) A certain autonomy of the aspect with regard to the semantic content of the verb, e.g., momentariness in the imperfective aspect,

[412] Dostál, pp. 32-33.
[413] Němec[1], p. 13. Cf. also Němec[2], p. 302.
[414] Cf. Poldauf[1], pp. 202-204.
[415] Kopečný[1], p. 40.

great dimension in the perfective one. 3) The impossibility of differentiating the two main aspectual forms by lexical means, when translating them into a foreign language.[416]

Consequently, Kopečný's definition of verbal aspect mentions no semantic features:

"Verbal aspect is the distinguishing element of the linguistic fact that our verb may be used in two or three sets of parallel forms not differing from one another by their basic lexical meaning (and, consequently, translatable by one and the same form into a foreign, non-Slavonic, language)."[417]

27,924. On the whole, analogous findings result from the examination of the meanings and functions of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* as compared with those of their unmodified counterparts in Hindī. The modified verbal expressions with *jānā* have grammatical functions of their own and constitute a particular grammatical category. By their semantic content, they are closely connected with their unmodified counterparts and do not constitute separate lexical units. As to quantity of verbal action, they do not impart nor preclude any dimension of the action (momentariness, great span of time, repetition).[418]

27,925. When translating into languages such as English, one and the same verb may often serve as equivalent to both an unmodified verb and its modified counterpart with *jānā.* When translating modified verbal expressions with *jānā* into Slavonic languages, a perfective verb must often be used, though not indiscriminately: in each case, the choice of the verbal aspect must comply with the aspectual system of the respective language.

But the most tricky problem to be solved by a translator will often prove to be the very form of modified verbal expressions. The relations between the simple absolutive and the modifying verb may vary and must, therefore, be carefully examined.[419] Besides, the grammaticalization of the modifying verb sometimes disappears and the expression splits into two semantically separate verbs. Thus, the internal structure of the expression may change even when its external appearance remains unchanged. The sense of the expression changes accordingly.

27,931. In establishing a grammatical category, semantic criteria may only play a secondary role; in general, they are irrelevant, and, sometimes, they may even prove misleading. Still, they may be helpful when combined with those gathered from grammatical examinations.

In the opinion of most grammarians, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* denote completeness or fullness of the action signified by the simple absolutive of the main verb.[420]

Completeness or fullness of the action is sometimes explicitly mentioned:

pardā girne lagtā hai ..., pardā pūrā g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[2], pp. 30, 41; Prabhākar[8], p. 36-37) 'the curtain begins to fall ..., the curtain falls completely'; scenic present.

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[416] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 40. See also Kopečný[2], pp. 101; 107-109.

[417] Kopečný[1], p. 6. Cf. also his definition of imperfective verbal aspect, Kopečný[1], p. 11, see above, at nos. 1,91; 26,7.

[418] For momentariness, suddenness, etc., cf. below, at no. 27,932. - For great span of time, cf. above, at no. 2,3, and below, at no. 27,933. - For repetition of an action, cf. above, at nos. 2,2; 7,1; 10,7; 12,1-4; 19,2.

[419] Cf. above, at nos. 25,4-5.

[420] Cf. above at no. 27 2, and foot-notes 345-346.

pardā girne lagtā hai ... Yahī̃ pardā pūrī tarah g i r j ā t ā h a i (Prabhākar[4], p. 84). 'the curtain begins to fall ... There the curtain falls completely'; scenic present.

27,932. Another semantic feature said to be characteristic of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is suddenness or hastiness of the action.[421] In texts, these expressions really often occur in connection with adverbs such as *akasmāt, acānak* 'suddenly', *abhī* 'at once', *ekāek* 'all at once', *fauran* 'instantly', etc. But the raison d'être of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is not to express suddenness, hastiness, rashness, unexpectedness, etc., of an action. In fact, these expressions may even denote the very opposite idea, though not, again, *per se,* not as inherent in their proper meaning, not as their raison d'être. From the context, it is sometimes evident that a slow action is meant, or that the action has been expected, even anxiously expected, and the like. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* simply denote an action as marked with regard to its realization as such. Hence, they may be conveniently used whenever attention is focused on the realization of the action. And attention may be directed to a sudden and unexpected action in one case, and to a slow or an anxiously expected action in another case. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* have primarily just a grammatical, not a semantic function; semantic implications are a secondary feature.

Hastiness, suddenness, unexpectedness, inconsiderateness, etc., of an action:

Śekhar ekāek khaṛā h o j ā t ā h a i (Ajñey[1], p. 70) 'suddenly, Śekhar stands up'; historic present, narrator's speech

acānak hamāre paṛosī kā baccā chat se g i r g a y ā (Prabhākar[3], p. 9) 'suddenly, the boy of a neighbour of ours fell down from the roof'

ekāek mere sāre śarīr mẽ kāpkāpī d a u ṛ g a ī (Varmā, Bh., p. 14) 'suddenly, my whole body trembled', lit., 'a trembling ran through my whole body'

tū ekāek pīlī kyõ p a ṛ g a ī h a i ? (Prabhākar[7], p. 158) 'why have you turned pale all at once?

tumhẽ fauran ā j ā n ā hai (Kumār[5], p. 164) 'you must come at once'

kisī apne sāthī ke akasmāt koī baṛī coṭ l a g j ā n e par us kā mitr[(a)] use sahānubhūtipūrṇ[(a)] patr[(a)] likhtā hai (Śarmā, Y., p. 79) 'a friend writes a letter of condolence to a friend of his who suddenly received a severe wound', lit., ... after a severe wounding of a friend of his'

Suddenness, rashness, etc. of an action may be suggested by the modified verbal expression alone without any adverb added:

Citrāṅgadā - Kis tarah beṭī? Nārī rājnīti mẽ nahī̃ paṛtī. Hāy, kyā k a h g a ī !

Jānakī - Mā̃! Tum ne mujhe beṭī kah diyā.

Citrāṅgadā - Kaisā jādū mujh par ho gayā? Maĩ ne beṭī kah hī diyā ... (Miśra[2], p. 86)

Citrāṅgadā: "In what way (my) daughter? Woman has nothing to do with politics. Oh me, what I have (i n c o n s i d e r a t e l y) said!"

Jānakī: 'Mother, you called me daughter.'

Citrāṅgadā - "What has bewitched me? Indeed, I have said "(my) daughter" ...

27,933. Slowness of the action, great span of time:

dhīre-dhīre pandrah-bīs minaṭ b ī t j ā t e h a ĩ (Prabhākar[2], p. 8) 'slowly, fifteen or twenty minutes pass away'; scenic present

śanaih-śanaih vah śayyā par l e ṭ g a y ā (Kumār[5], p. 23) 'slowly, he lay down on the bed'

sāl ke sāl b ī t j ā t e h a ĩ, goras ke darsan nahī̃ hote (Premcand[1], p. 8) 'whole years pass away, and we do not see any milk'; present characterizing the situation of a poverty-stricken peasant

isī tarah do varṣ b ī t g a y e (Vyās, p. 47) 'thus, two years passed away'.

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[421] Guru, p. 397: ... *bahudhā śīghr(a)tā kā bodh.* - Sharma, S., p. 185: haste in action. - Vale, p. 82: Intensives showing suddenness. - Hacker[1], § 40, p. 33: Flüchtigkeit.

27,934. An expected action:

Are! Yah to gāṛī chūṭ rahī hai aur Dev(a)dās abhī tak nahĩ āyā ... Vah dekho, Dev(a)dās ā g a y ā (Gupt, p. 5) 'Oh dear, the train is starting, and Devadās has not yet come ... Look, there has arrived Devadās'

yah dekhiye, tel kī dūkān ā g a ī (Jain[4], p. 54) 'please look, here is an oil-shop', lit., 'here has come an oil-shop', i.e. such a shop as we have been looking for.

27,935. On the whole, analogous findings result from the examination of semantic implications of perfective verbs in Slavonic languages. Discussing the methods of determining the perfective verbal aspect in Old Slavonic, A. Dostál says:

"Thus, on the whole, we shall use, for the Old Slavonic, the possibility of answering our questions (*Has he done something at once, quickly, suddenly* [as a whole]?...)."[422]

F. Kopečný mentions effectiveness (resultativeness) and unexpectedness of the action denoted by a perfective verb:

"Only when attention is specially attracted by the result, we use a perfective form; also when the result appears unexpectedly and attracts attention."[423]

Anyhow, the fact that attention is focused on the realization of the action or on its result must not be interpreted in the sense that the resulting state is always expressed.

Besides the final, resultant, stage of an action must not be mistaken for the state resulting from the action: to signify such a state, other means of expression are used, e.g., in Hindī, perfect and past perfect tenses,[424] and, in Czech, certain verbal forms.[425]

27,936. To the-fact that modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may denote a great span of time, there is, again, an analogy in Slavonic languages. F. Kopečný says:

"At first sight, of course, it seems that the perfective forms denote moments: *našel / najde* ('he found', 'he will find') ... But even such forms as *napsal, uvařil, zabalil, zasel* ('he wrote', 'he cooked', 'he packed up', 'he sowed'), and the like, are difficult to be only regarded as resultant "points". These actions without exception require a certain temporal dimension and we do not conceive the perfective form as an expression denoting a "final point", we rather regard it as an expression signifying the action in its entirety conceived in a certain manner, "like a point". ... Thus, perfective forms may have a dimension. Often a very clear and long dimension: *prospal celou noc* ('he slept the whole night through') ..."[426] This point must be stressed against the often repeated opinion that the perfective verbal aspect is identical with the instantaneousness (momentariness, point-like character) of the action.

27,94. In numerous grammars of Hindī language, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* and with some other modifying verbs are collectively termed "intensives".[427] These expressions, as defined by Kellogg, "intensify or otherwise modify the meaning of the verb whose conjunctive participle stands first in the combination".[428] S. Sharma says that "the chief function of secondary verbs is to add more force to the sense of the primary verb".[429]

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[422] Dostál, p. 55.

[423] Kopečný[2], p. 100.

[424] Cf. above, at nos. 3,1-2; 4,l.

[425] Cf. above, at no. 27,5.

[426] Kopečný[1], p. 23. Cf. also Kopečný[2], pp. 100-101.

[427] Barannikov[1], pp. 127-136. - Beskrovnyj[2], pp. 805-807. - Katenina[1], pp. 70-71. - Katenina[2], pp. 1335-1337. - Dymšic[1], pp. 105-106. - Dymšic[2], pp. 1110-1111. - Kellogg, pp. 259-263. - Scholberg, p. 102. - Sharma, S., pp. 184-186. - Tisdall, p. 139. - Vale, pp. 81-82.

[428] Kellogg, p. 259. Similarly, Scholberg, p. 102; Tisdall, p. 139.

[429] Sharma, S., p. 184.

Taking "intensity" in the sense of emphasis, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may sometimes be termed "intensives", as they may be used emphatically. At the same time, however, they denote an action as marked with regard to its realization as such:

maĩ śīghr$^{(a)}$ āũgī ... Maĩ kahtī hũ̃, maĩ abhī ā j ā ũ̃ g ī (Kumār[2], p. 338) 'I'll come soon ... I (do) say I'll come at once'

āp baiṭhiye ... B a i ṭ h j ā i y e, āp khaṛe kyõ haĩ? (Aśk[1], p. 47) 'please sit down ... (Do) sit down, please, why are you standing?'

āo, mitr$^{(a)}$. Merī god mẽ ā j ā o (Prabhākar[2], p. 30) 'come, (my) friend. Come into my arms'

Hacker rejects the term "intensives".[430] But he admits that, in some instances, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* have emotional colouring (they may be "affektbedingt"),[431] and that modifying verbs generally impart "the mode of *definiteness (Bestimmtheit)* to the expression of the action".[432]

Emotional colouring may have been connected with the very origin of modified verbal expressions with *jānā*, cf. the Pāli sentence *aṭṭhi patitvā gataṃ,* as mentioned above.[433] This would account for the fact that, even today, these expressions may be used emphatically, though, in general, their emotional colouring disappeared.

It will be of some interest to note that, in Slavonic languages, again, there is a group of verbs that may be called "intensives". In Czech, they are formed by prefixing *na-* to imperfective verbs and denote "attainment of a great measure of an action by continuance or repetition, accompanied by an emotional attitude; ... as a rule, they have the perfective verbal aspect, only in some uses they may be imperfective",[434] e.g., *načekat se* 'to wait (or 'to have to wait') for a long time', and the like. Thus, these verbs express a sort of intensity different from that imparted by "intensives" in Hindī. Anyhow, it is worth noticing that, by these Czech verbs, intensity of an action is expressed as accompanied by an emotional attitude.

But an emotional attitude or emphasis may be expressed without connoting any particular effort of the doer. At least, modified verbal expressions with *jānā*, as a rule, do not imply such an effort. For this reason, Hacker rejects the term "intensives".[435] Greaves admits that, "with verbs other than the passive-neuters, the addition of *jānā* may suggest intensity, but not necessarily so".[436]

Another opinion is upheld by V. M. Beskrovnyj:

"Intensive verbs are formed by combining the base of the main verb with one of formative verbs. The intensive verbs have double meaning: 1) they denote completeness of the action signified by the main verb, and 2) they impart the direction of the action of the main verb, or add various shades of meaning to it."[437]

In almost the same words, intensive verbs are defined by A. P. Barannikov.[438] T. E. Katenina, on the other hand, says:

[430] Hacker[1], pp. 5-6; 10; 27.
[431] Hacker[1], p. 35.
[432] Hacker[4], p. 491. Cf. also Hacker[1], pp. 27, 77.
[433] Cf. above, at no. 25,1.
[434] SSJČ II, p. 3, s. v. na- II. - Cf. also Havránek[1], p. 238; Kopečný[2], pp. 109; 136.
[435] Hacker[1], pp. 10, 27.
[436] Greaves, p. 333. Cf. above, at no. 24,911.
[437] Beskrovnyj[3], p. 805: «Интенсивные глаголы образуются соединением основы главного глагола с одним из образующих. Интенсивные глаголы имеют двоякое значение: 1) они выражают законченность действия, обозначаемого главным глаголом, и 2) обозначают направление действия главного глагола или сообщают ему разнообразные оттенки.»
[438] Barannikov[1], p. 127. - Barannikov[2], p. 1286.

"Intensive verbs are characterized by a more precise manner of the action itself, or of its subjective apprehension. The meanings of the formative verbs may be compared with lexical meanings of verbal prefixes in Russian."[439]

Katenina may have had in view the idea of the perfective verbal aspect: in most cases, she translates the "intensive verbs" into Russian by perfective verbs.[440]

Dymšic mentions the aspectual meaning explicitly, but he assigns it to the "formative" verb.[441] This, however, is only partly true: the aspectual meaning is imparted by the modified verbal expression as such, not by the modifying verb itself. What sort of aspectual meaning it is may be understood from Beskrovnyj's observation that the "intensive verbs" are translated into Russian by verbs of perfective aspect.[442]

This short survey shows that the term "intensive" is conceived by different scholars differently. Hence, it can hardly be used without incurring the danger of being misunderstood.

28,1. In Hindī, the perfective verbal aspect may be expressed either by an unmodified verb, or by a modified verbal expression. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are marked with regard to perfectiveness, i.e., they signify the perfectiveness *per se,* by themselves, directly. Their unmodified counterparts are not marked with regard to perfectiveness: they may only impart the perfectiveness in certain contexts and situations. This is most often the case in the preterite.[443] With unmodified verbs, the capacity of denoting perfectiveness is just one function among other ones. Disregarding the other functions, no reliable conclusions concerning the aspectual function of the verb can be reached.

Basing his considerations on the fact that unmodified verbal forms very often denote an action "as a whole, as a fact", A. Sharma concludes that they are expressive of the "terminate aspect". Verbal aspects are defined by A. Sharma as "the forms of a verb indicating the type or the character of the action etc. denoted by it".[444] The two most important aspects are, in his opinion, the terminate aspect and the progressive aspect. He states: »The *terminate* aspect "represents the act as a whole, as a fact". It is "a statement of fact", the action being "thought of as a whole, not as continuing". It has two quite different meanings. It expresses a general or a particular fact ... The *progressive* aspect "represents the action as progressing, proceeding, hence as not ended".«[445]

"The terminate forms", as stated by Sharma, "are the common, simple forms of verb",[446] i.e. the forms of an unmodified verb.

Mentioning the present tense (termed 'the indicative present'), A. Sharma says:

"As for the aspect, the above forms are terminate: they represent the act ('moving' etc.) as a whole, a fact, not as progressing. The progressive aspect ('he is going') is expressed with the help of the auxiliary *rahā, rahe, rahī* compounded with the main root."[447]

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[439] Katenina[2], p. 1335: «Интенсивные глаголы характерны уточнением способа самого действия или его субъективного восприятия. Значения образующих глаголов можно сравнить с лексическими значениями глаголных приставок русского языка.» - Cf. also Katenina[1], p. 70.

[440] Cf. above, at no. 24,5, and foot-note 255.

[441] Cf. above, at no. 27,7, and foot-notes 378, 379.

[442] Cf. above, at no. 27,2, and foot-note 349.

[443] Cf. above, at nos. 2,1; 2,4; 2,7; 2,92-4.

[444] Sharma, A., § 173a, p. 56.

[445] Sharma, A., § 173c, p. .56. - Cf. below, at foot-note 453.

[446] Sharma, A , § 173d, p. 56.

But A. Sharma himself disproves his own statement: "A sentence like *vah jhūṭh boltā hai* 'he tells a lie' may mean either 'he lies habitually', or 'he is (on this occasion) telling a lie'. If therefore, the reference is to a particular occasion, *vah jhūṭh bol rahā hai* would be preferable. For denoting a continued action, the *rahā* form is almost exclusively used."[448]

Thus, the present of unmodified verbs may express an action as in progress at the present moment; it is even frequent in this function.[449] The conclusion is that the present of unmodified verbs may denote either a habitual action, a general fact, etc., or an action as in progress at the present time. In other words, the present of unmodified verbs is unmarked with regard to verbal aspect, it has no inherent aspect-meaning, it is neutral, indifferent in respect of verbal aspect, though it does not preclude the aspect-meaning either, and may denote the aspect of a verbal action by virtue of a certain context or situation.

Mentioning the uses of the preterite ('indicative past', as he terms the tense), A. Sharma says: "The indicative past, as discussed above, invariably refers to a particular act done in the past. It is never used with reference to an act habitually or regularly done in the past, for which the habitual past is used. The common forms noted above are, obviously, terminate: they represent a particular past action as a whole or as a fact, not as going on."[450]

In reality, however, the preterite may denote not only an action done on one occasion, but also a multiplied (repeated) action in the past,[451] or even an action as in progress for a certain period in the past.[452]

In other words, the preterite is unmarked with regard to verbal aspect, it has no inherent aspect-meaning, it is neutral, indifferent in respect of verbal aspect, though it does not preclude the aspect-meaning either and may denote perfectiveness of an action by virtue of a context or situation. It may be termed 'non-perfective' in the sense that it is not markedly perfective, i.e., it has not the meaning of perfectiveness as its aspectual mark. This fact is in no way altered by the circumstance that the preterite is most often used in the very contexts and situations occasioning the meaning of perfectiveness.

28,2. Thus, the verbal aspect attributed by A. Sharma[453] to unmodified verbs is not characteristic of these verbs, it only occurs with them under certain conditions.

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[447] Sharma, A., § 193, p. 64.

[448] Sharma, A., § 196, p. 65.

[449] Cf. above, at no. 8,3.

[450] Sharma, A., § 205, p. 67.

[451] Cf. above, at no. 2,2.

[452] Cf. above, at no. 2,3; 2,5-7.

[453] To illustrate what he means by "the terminate aspect", A. Sharma quoting Curme, presents examples showing the use of the present tense in English (Sharma, A., § 173c, p. 56). But, in English, the simple present tense has no inherent aspect-meaning. Gerhard Nickel, discussing the aspectual functions of the simple present tense (termed "the simple form") and of the present progressive ("the expanded form") in English, says (Nickel, p. 391): The simple form is both in form and function the unmarked (neutral) form. It has no basic significance of its own, but is determined by the context. The expanded form as the marked form denotes the imperfective aspect. It selects one of the functions of the simple form; i. e. its function is selective." - Cf. also Ivanova, pp. 57-69, 195.

In Hindī, the present of unmodified (i. e., simple) verbs is the unmarked (neutral) form. The verbal expressions are the marked forms selecting the one or the other of the functions of the unmodified verb:

But, on the other hand, it is characteristic of some modified verbal expressions, particularly of those with *jānā.* These expressions do denote an action as a whole, as a fact, provided that the modifying verb is grammaticalized. Even the term "terminative (or terminate) aspect" could apply to the meaning of these expressions. But the word "terminative" is oftener used in another sense: "terminative verbs" is a label applied to verbs signifying an action as aiming at reaching a limit, target, etc.[454]

The verbal aspect denoted by the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is termed "effective aspect, or completive" by A. Sharma.[455] He says that, in this function, the verb *jānā* indicates 'completion' of the action.

28,3. The same meaning - 'completion' - as stated by A. Sharma, is also imparted by a quite different expression, viz. by combining the simple absolutive of the main verb with *cuknā* 'to be finished', 'to be exhausted'.[456]

The verb *cuknā,* when combined with the simple absolutive of a main verb, oftener conveys the meaning 'to finish', 'to have finished doing' etc.,[457] less often 'to be finished', 'to be exhausted'.

The modified verbal expression with *cuknā* imparts the idea of finishing an action or state:

kal tak maĩ yah kām k a r c u k ũ g ā (Sharma, A., p. 89) 'I shall have finished this work by tomorrow'.

jab un kī ãkh khulī tab saberā h o c u k ā t h ā (Sinh, Ś., p. 39) 'when he woke up, it had been morning already'.

The idea imparted by the modified verbal expression with *jānā,* on the other hand, is different:

maĩ sab dūdh p ī j ā ũ g ā (Sharma, A., p. 88) 'I shall drink off the entire milk' (not: 'I'll finish drinking').

Sītā ā g a ī (Sharma, A., p. 88) 'Sītā has come' (not: 'Sītā has completed coming').

The difference between *Sītā āī* 'Sītā has come' and *Sītā ā g a ī* 'Sītā has come' is not mentioned by A. Sharma. This difference is connected with the very aspectual function of the expression: the unmodified verb only expresses the perfective aspect by virtue of a certain context or situation, the modified verbal expression with *jānā* presents the idea of perfectiveness as its specific meaning.[458]

28,4. A. Sharma attributes the sense of completion of an action also to "compound verbs" with *denā* 'to give' and to those with *lenā* 'to take': *denā* denotes "completion" of an action "for someone else", *lenā* denotes "completion" of some action, mainly "for, or in the interest of, oneself."[459]

These modified verbal expressions impart, again, the perfective verbal aspect, but with a certain shade of meaning: they involve the idea of an actual or merely metaphorical direction of the action away from the doer (when *denā* is used), or towards the doer (when *lenā* is the modifying verb; sometimes, the sense of this expression is 'to manage to do [with some difficulty]').

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those with the grammaticalized *rahā hũ* denote the action as in progress, those with *jānā* signify perfectiveness of the action.

[454] Cf. Maslov[1], p. 14-15; Ivanova, p. 64, 194; Kopečný[1], p. 12.

[455] Sharma, A., § 257, p. 87.

[456] Sharma, A., § 260 l, p. 89.

[457] Cf. Bailey[2], pp. 29, 50; Bailey[3], pp, 69, 162, 237.

[458] Cf. above, at nos. 1,92; 2,1; 2,8.

[459] Sharma, S., § 260 e, f, p. 88.

Some other modified verbal expressions, too, denote perfectiveness together with particular shades of meaning connected with the idea intimated by the modifying verb. Thus, *ānā* 'to come', when used as modifying verb, suggests the idea of coming, approaching, etc.; *uṭhnā* 'to get up', indicates the direction of the action upwards, or increasing activity, or change for the better, and generally shows an action as starting, especially as starting suddenly, unexpectedly; *paṛnā* 'to fall' may sometimes hint at falling, but, generally, it is used to impart suddenness, fortuitousness, and the like; *ḍālnā* 'to throw' denotes, as a rule, a vehement or violent action as completed within a short time; etc.

28,5. Thus, the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are only a particular instance of modified verbal expressions denoting perfective verbal aspect. But other modified verbal expressions combine the perfectiveness with some additional shades of meaning while those with *jānā* signify - so to speak - perfectiveness pure and simple, provided that *jānā* is grammaticalized.

In this respect, the function of *jānā* may be compared with that of "empty", or purely aspectual, prefixes of Slavonic languages. Some prefixes, when prefixed to certain imperfective verbs, afford the verbs the meaning of perfectiveness, while adding no new lexical meaning nor any shade of a lexical meaning to that of the simple verb.[460] Thus, prefixes such as *po-* and *u-* have the least concrete meaning, they are "empty", their functions, on the other hand, are most various.[461] Other prefixes generally retain their concrete meanings and modify the meaning of simple imperfective verbs accordingly. Thus, *při-* has the concrete meaning of the preposition *k*,[462] *s-* the meanings of "together" and "downwards",[463] *vy-* the meanings of "outwards" and "upwards",[464] etc.

But the analogy between the Hindī modified verbal expressions and the Slavonic perfective verbs never applies to all details. After all, grammatical phenomena of any language develop from intrinsic principles peculiar to any particular language. The products of this development in different languages differ in both their forms and their functions.

29,1. The parallelism between the perfective modified verbal expressions in Hindī and the perfective verbs in Slavonic languages only applies to some features of these means of expression. These features, however, are very significant: they are relevant to the very raison d'être of the perfective verbal aspect, to its grammaticality, and to its main functions. Differences between the aspectual systems result from the specific conditions as found in individual languages.

Thus, by their very form, Slavonic perfective verbs differ conspicuously from modified verbal expressions in Hindī. In Czech (and, on the whole, in other Slavonic languages as well) perfective verbs are most often formed from simple imperfective verbs by joining a p r e f i x, as *vidí - uvidí* ('he sees' - 'will see'); *učí se - naučí se* ('he learns' - 'will learn'); *píše - napíše* ('he writes' - 'will write'); *zpívá - zazpívá* ('he sings' - 'will sing'); etc.

But some few simple verbs without any prefix are perfective too, as *řekne* ('he will say'), *sedne* ('he will sit down'), *koupí* ('he will buy'), *dá* ('he will give'), etc. Imperfective verbs are often

[460] For details, see, e. g. Němec[1], pp. 13-15; Kopečný[1], pp. 90-97; Poldauf[1], pp. 211-212.
[461] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 114.
[462] Kopečný[1], p. 118.
[463] Kopečný[1], p. 120.
[464] Kopečný[1], p. 122.

simple underived verbs, as *nese* ('he carries'), *jde* ('he goes'), *bere* ('he takes'), *dělá* ('he makes'), *píše* ('he writes'), *leze* ('he creeps'), etc.

Most imperfective verbs, however, are derivative words, being formed from simple or prefixal perfective verbs by adding a suffix, e.g., *říká* ('he says') to *řekne* ('he will say'); *skáče* ('he jumps') to *skočí* ('he will jump'); *hází* ('he throws') to *hodí* ('he will throw'); *kupuje* ('he buys') to *koupí* ('he will buy'); *dává* ('he gives') to *dá* ('he will give'); *vyrábí* ('he produces') to *vyrobí* ('he will produce'); *rozvíjí* ('he unfolds') to *rozvine* ('he will unfold'), etc.[465]

Thus, in respect of their forms, the perfective verbs in Slavonic languages and modified verbal expressions in Hindī are incommensurable types of expressions. Hence, the term 'compound verbs' has one meaning when applied to Slavonic verbs (prefixal compounds are genuine compounds), and another one when applied to modified verbal expressions (genetically, syntactical combinations) in Hindī.

In Slavonic languages, prefixes are largely used to form perfective verbs (and to form words in general). Old Indo-Aryan languages also possessed a rich system of prefixes. In the course of further development, however, this system of prefixes disappeared.[466] To some extent, the functions of old prefixes have been taken over by modifying verbs.[467]

In Hindī, modified verbal expressions are formed by combining the simple absolutive of the main verb with the modifying verb. This combination is easily dissociable[468] and cannot be compared with prefixal compounds in respect of stability.

But the difference of formation has still another consequence. In Hindī, modified verbal expressions are formed from unmodified verbs, consequently, they presuppose the existence of unmodified verbs. For this reason, in Hindī, there are no *perfectiva tantum,* no verbs or verbal expressions denoting an action as marked with regard to perfectiveness without having any counterpart in a verb or in a verbal expression denoting the same action as not marked with regard to perfectiveness.

In Czech (and in other Slavonic languages), on the other hand, many perfective verbs may be formed from imperfective ones, and imperfective verbs from perfective ones (cf. above in this paragraph), but some verbs remain without their aspectual counterparts and are imperfective only (*imperfectiva tantum*) or - less frequently - perfective only (*perfectiva tantum*).[469]

29,2. As regards the origin and development of perfective verbs in Slavonic languages, opinions differ considerably. The results of recent researches particularly support the theory that there is a genetic continuity between the category of perfective verbs and that of determinate verbs, i.e., of verbs signifying an action as aiming at its completion.[470]

To some extent, this theory may apply even to modified verbal expressions in Hindī. To trace their origin, contexts and situations must be examined where full realization of an action is meant. In this respect, even the Pāli sentence *aṭṭhi patitvā gataṃ*[471] 'the bone fell down' may be of some relevance. Typical instances, however,

[465] For details, see, e. g., Havránek[1], p. 220-224; Kopečný[1], pp. 90-133.
[466] For details, see Barchudarov, pp. 85-100.
[467] Cf. Barchudarov, pp: 111-112; Vale, p. 317.
[468] Cf. above, at no. 25,2.
[469] Cf., e. g., Havránek[1], pp. 223-224.
[470] Cf. Němec[2], p. 305. For details, see Němec[1], pp. 20-35; 79-93. Cf. also Maslov[1], pp. 22-24.
[471] Jātaka, III, 26; cf. Davids, s. v. *gata.*

will be found in modern texts in cases where full realization of an action is explicitly stated.[472] In this connection, it will not be off the point to mention that, with transitive verbs, a modified verbal expression often occurs in contexts where the object of the action is mentioned or is at least evident from the context or situation.[473]

Besides, with modified verbal expressions in Hindī, the probability of their originally emotional character will also have to be taken into account.[474]

29,3. Aspectual forms do not fulfil the same functions in all Slavonic languages. A particularly characteristic feature is the present tense of perfective verbs as used in various languages.

In Czech, the present tense of perfective verbs denotes a future action or an action indifferent to any position in the time sphere (characterizing present, gnomic present); it may denote a past action (historic present)[475] and is also used as the scenic present.[476] It does not signify an actual present action.[477] Only with a certain group of perfective verbs (especially with verbs signifying ability), the present tense may have a function similar to that of an actual present. [478]

Thus, in Czech, the present of perfective verbs is marked with regard to perfectiveness, but unmarked with regard to the position of the action in the time sphere.[479] Its capacity of denoting a future action results from a long development. Kopečný says to this point: "But this meaning of futurity only results from a long development which is by no means common to all Slavonic languages. The first distinguishing feature between the present tenses of the two verbal aspects, between the type *píšu* and *napíšu* (...) was the fact that the perfective presents could not signify the actual present, they could only signify actions without any position in the time sphere. This state of things is found in Lithuanian (clearly at least with the verbs formed with the prefix *pa-*). Very similar state of things is found in Jugoslav languages, where the present of perfective verbs by itself cannot have the meaning of futurity in a main sentence! It only has the meaning of indifference to any position in the time sphere (...). A further stage of development is represented by Czech language: in our language, the present of perfective verbs has the meaning of futurity, but, as already mentioned in the schematic representation above, only an unmarked one (...). In addition to this value of futurity (very common in our language already), however, our perfective present has preserved its former capacity of denoting an action as indifferent to any position in the time sphere: even now, it may also denote the so called historic present (...). In Polish and Russian, the development of the function of the perfective present as a means of denoting a future action has developed still further. In those languages, the perfective present is so closely connected with the meaning of futurity that, today, in contrast with former periods of those languages, the perfective present cannot be used, e.g., as historic present (...)."[480]

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[472] Cf. above, at no. 27, 931.

[473] Among 26 sentences and phrases adduced by P. Hacker as examples of *jānā* with the simple absolutive of transitive verbs, there is no instance presenting the verbal action as referring to no object, cf. Hacker[1], pp. 29-35.

[474] Cf. above, at no. 27,94.

[475] Cf., e. g. Havránek[1], pp. 244-246; Kopečný[1], p. 31-35; 74.

[476] Křížková[1], p. 253, says: "In the scenic present just as in the historic present, the Czech usage is different from the Russian one, i. e., Czech language largely employs both imperfective and perfective verbs. The perfective verbs neutralize their future-tense meaning and only retain the perfective-verb meaning, i. e., they express the action not in its continuance, progress, but as a result, or as a series of actions succeeding fast one after another. As Czech language employs the present of perfective verbs in the scenic present, we do not almost meet any perfective preterite. Thus the situation in the scenic present is analogous to that in the historic present." - Kopečný[1], p. 34, on the other hand, states that, in the function of the scenic present, the present tense of imperfective verbs is more suitable than that of perfective verbs.

[477] Kopečný[1], pp. 35-36. Various theories have been put forward to explain this phenomenon, cf. e. g. Dostál, pp. 17, 25-31, 591-594; Kopečný[1], p. 35; Kopečný[2], p. 101; Šmilauer[1], p. 86; Koschmieder[2], p. 31-39; Koschmieder[3], p. 294.

[478] See Kopečný[1], pp. 36-38.

[479] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 40; Kopečný[2], p. 105.

[480] Kopečný[2], pp. 105-106. - In Russian, it is true, the perfective present cannot be used as historic (or scenic) present when a single (not repeated) action is meant (except for expressions of emotional

29,4. In respect of their functions in the present tense, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may be parallelled with perfective present-tense forms as used in Lithuanian. Referring to the forms of the present tense in Lithuanian, L. Dambriūnas writes:

"Present-tense forms can be divided into two categories depending upon whether they can express actual present action or not. The first can be called imperfective, the latter perfective."[481] "Perfective present-tense forms, being unable to represent actual present action, are widely used to express action accomplished in other phases of time. They can express a) timeless action implying perpetual, repeated, or possible action (...); b) past action (historical present) (...); c) future action, e.g., 'Einu ir *pasakau* (= eisiu ir *pasakysiu*)'."[482] Here, the perfective present-tense form denotes a future action by virtue of the context only: the literal translation would read "I go and say", the sense is "I'll go and say"; in Lithuanian, the perfective verbal aspect is expressed.[483]

"There is only one case in which the perfective present-tense form can be used to express actual present action. This is the so-called coincidental case, in which the action itself and the verbal expression of this action coincide, that is to say, when the action is being carried out merely by uttering the word, e.g., Aš tau dabar *pasakau* - daugiau negirdėsi né žodžio."[484] The translation would run: "I say to you you won't hear a single word any more."[485]

Referring to the future-tense forms, Dambriūnas says: "The future-tense forms do not differ in principle from past-tense forms with regard to aspects. Simple forms, such as *skaitys* (...), are imperfective. Such forms as *baigs, griš, pirks* are, like adequate past-tense forms, neutral. Compound forms that are imperfective in the present and past tenses are also imperfective in the future tense, e.g., *pasakos,* (...). All compound forms that are perfective in the past tense are also perfective in the future tense, e.g., *parduos,* (...)."[486]

Thus, unlike Slavonic languages, Lithuanian has not only perfective present-tense forms, but also perfective future-tense forms. In Czech, Polish and Russian, perfective verbs have no particular future-tense forms to denote a perfective action in the future: the present tense of perfective verbs serves the purpose. In Hindī, perfective verbal expressions may take the present-tense form, or the future-tense form, as well as the forms of other tenses.

29,51. The fact that perfective present-tense forms do not express actual present action is not insignificant: it shows that, in respect of position in the time sphere, the action expressed by perfective present-tense forms differs from the action signified by the present-tense forms unmarked with regard to perfectiveness. In this point, the parallelism of languages is conspicuous: it is supported by linguistic facts in Slavonic languages, in Lithuanian, and in Hindī.

Hindī affords another fact of relevance to this point. Unlike Slavonic languages, Hindī has a means of expressing the actual present action markedly, viz. by combining the simple absolutive of a main verb with the grammaticalized *rahā hũ̃* etc.[487] Besides, in Hindī, the actual present action may be expressed unmarkedly, scil. by the present tense of unmodified verbs (cf. above, at no. 8,3). Consequently, it may *a priori* be regarded as improbable that modified verbal expressions with *jānā* should be a third means of expressing the same idea.

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type), but it is used as historic present referring to a repeated action, or in the so-called coincidental case, and in some other types. Cf. Maslov's note in *Voprosy,* p. 404, note 48.

[481] Dambriūnas, p. 254.

[482] Dambriūnas, p. 256.

[483] Cf. Dambriūnas' paper in its Russian version, *Voprosy,* p. 370.

[484] Dambriūnas, p. 256.

[485] Cf. Dambriūnas' paper in its Russian version, *Voprosy,* p. 370.

[486] Dambriūnas, p. 258.

[487] Cf. above, at no. 8,2.

29,52. In Slavonic languages, actual present action is generally denoted by the present tense of imperfective verbs. In other functions of the present tense (timeless action, historic present, gnomic present, characterizing present, etc.), imperfective and perfective verbs are not used in the same way in all Slavonic languages. One language prefers perfective verb where another language demands the imperfective one.[488] Sometimes, imperfective and perfective verbs may alternate without any change in the sense of the statement. In general, functions of imperfective verbs are of wider range than those of perfective ones.

Thus, in Czech, the present tense of imperfective verbs denotes an action in progress or a state existing at the present moment (actual present), or a past action (historic present; the same with perfective verbs, too), and a general truth or, in general, an action that can be realized at any time (gnomic present; the same with perfective verbs, too); it often serves to signify ability or a lasting quality (characterizing present; less frequent with perfective verbs). Besides, it is used in introductory clauses with quotations (present of quotations), in headlines, headings, records and in setting out subject of a statement or speech, etc. (present of registration). It often occurs in author's notes and stage directions (scenic, or dramatic present; but perfective verbs are also frequent in this function. Under certain conditions, it may even impart a future action, or a mere endeavour (present of endeavour, praesens de conatu).[489] The same applies, on the whole, to the uses of the present tense of unmodified verbs in Hindī.

29,53. From this survey of functions, it is evident that the difference between the imperfective and perfective verbs (and between unmodified verbs and their modified counterparts with *jānā*, as in Hindī) is sharply reflected in their grammatical functions: the lexical meaning, as a rule, is unaffected by the change of verbal aspect. But a change of grammatical function not involving change in the lexical meaning of the word must have its cause in a principle which is by its nature purely grammatical. This cause is the perfective verbal aspect. The conclusion is that the verbal aspect is a grammatical category. This is, in substance, expressed by Kopečný, who says:

"Because the tense is regarded as a grammatical category, the verbal aspect must be regarded as a grammatical category, too, as its individual forms differ also in their temporal meaning.[490]

29,6. In Slavonic languages, both imperfective and perfective verbs may also be used to denote a multiplied (repeated) action, for even when forming a series, the actions may be conceived as imperfective, or as perfective.[491] Hence, perfectiveness is by no means incompatible with repetition of an action. One and the same perfective form may even signify a concrete single action or a repeated action as may be the intention of the speaker or writer in a given context or situation. H. Křížková gives an example:

"The perfective verb denotes a concrete single action as well as a repeated action, e.g., *Přečetl knihu za týden* (...)." This sentence, as interpreted by Křížková, conveys these meanings: a) *četl (tuto) knihu týden* "he read (this) book a week", or, b) *četl (každou) knihu týden* "he read (each) book a week"[492]

In some Slavonic languages, a perfective verb may also be used in the imperfect-tense form. Then, it denotes a series of perfective actions, the series itself, however, is presented in its continuance,

[488] Cf. the scenic and historic present as expressed in Czech, Polish, and Russian, see above, at nos. 10,2, foot-notes 168, 169; 29,3, foot-notes 476, 480.

[489] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 26-31; Trávníček, pp. 1389-1391; Šmilauer[2], pp. 123-125; Havránek[1], p. 246; Křížková[1], pp. 241-255.

[490] Kopečný[1], p. 40. Cf. also Kopečný[1], pp. 11, 26; Kopečný[2], pp. 11, 101, 107-109.

[491] Cf. Dostál, p. 19.

[492] Křížková[2], pp. 65-66.

not as a whole. This applies to the imperfect of perfective verbs in Old Slavonic, Old Czech, Old Russian, and in modern Bulgarian.[493]

In Czech, there is a class of verbs marked with regard to repetition of verbal action; they are either perfective or imperfective.[494] Besides, repetition of an action may be signified by lexical means (by an adverb, etc.), or it may be understood from the context or situation without being indicated formally.[495]

A note on the uses of the "habitual imperfect" (imperfectum consuetudinis) in Lithuanian will be of some relevance, too. Dambriūnas writes: "The forms of the past iterative tense (imperfectum consuetudinis) can also be manifold - imperfective, perfective, or neutral. It is necessary to note that this form itself, meaning a repeated or habitual action, is less perfectivizing than the past-tense form. For this reason some of these forms are neutral while the corresponding past-tense forms are perfective."[496]

In Hindī, the imperfect tense and the habitual tenses denote a multiplied (repeated) action in the past. In all of these tenses, either the unmodified verb, or the modified verbal expression with *jānā* may be used.[497] Besides, the combination of the 2nd (perfective, past) participle in *-ā* (susceptible of no change in this case) with *karnā* is used to denote a multiplied (repeated) action with reference to any time; here, again, either the unmodified verb, or the modified verbal expression with *jānā* may be employed.[498] But, sometimes, repetition of an action is denoted by no particular verbal form or verbal expression, being evident from the context or situation, or being indicated lexically (by an adverb, etc.).[499]

30,1. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are formed from most intransitive verbs. From *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' itself, however, such a modified form is never formed. Other exceptions are *kuṛkuṛānā* 'to growl', 'to grumble', *kahlānā* 'to be called', *cillānā* 'to cry out', *saknā* 'to be able (to do something)', etc. (cf. Bailey[3], p. 73).

Some intransitive verbs form their modified verbal expressions by combining with *paṛnā* 'to fall', *uṭhnā* 'to rise', etc., not with *jānā: ro paṛnā* 'to burst out crying', *hãs paṛnā* 'to burst out laughing', *khilkhilā uṭhnā* 'to burst out laughing (aloud)', etc.

Transitive verbs have also their modified counterparts expressing the perfective verbal aspect, but they, as a rule, form combinations with the modifying verbs *denā* 'to give', *lenā* 'to take', *ḍālnā* 'to throw',[500] less often with *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away'.

30,21. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may take any finite verb-form, but they are uncommon in the 2nd subjunctive, 2nd habitual, and 2nd conditional, i.e., in forms infrequent even with unmodified verbs.

The infinitive of modified verbal expressions with *jānā* is of rather frequent occurrence. Participles and absolutive are infrequent, but they do occur. J. Burton-Page's assertion to the contrary[501] is disproved by documentary evidence.[502]

Participles of unmodified verbs have no inherent aspect-meaning nor any inherent tense-meaning. By themselves, they do not refer to any particular time sphere and may serve as constituent parts of compound tenses referring to any time sphere. When used

[493] Cf. Maslov[2], pp. 81-111; Dostál, p. 601; Andrejczin, p. 40; Havránek[2], pp. 224-225.
[494] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 17-22.
[495] Cf., e. g., Šmilauer[1], p. 92.
[496] Dambriūnas, p. 258.
[497] Cf. above, at nos. 12,1-2; 12,4; 13,1-2.
[498] Cf. above, at no. 19,2.
[499] Cf. above, at nos. 2,2; 3,91.
[500] Cf. above, at no. 28,4.
[501] Cf. Burton[2], p. 472.
[502] Cf. above, at nos. 18,1-6; 19,1-3.

as finite-verb forms, they may signify the perfective verbal aspect by virtue of a certain context or situation, not *per se,* not directly.[503] As constituent parts of compound tenses, the participles are used with unmodified verbs unmarked with regard to any verbal aspect as well as with modified verbal expressions with *jānā* marked with regard to perfective verbal aspect. The participles themselves may take the modified form with *jānā*; when so, they are marked with regard to perfective verbal aspect.

30,22. These facts are of some relevance to grammatical terminology. The terms 'imperfective' and 'perfective' participles are just as objectionable as the terms 'present' and 'past' participles.[504] The terms '*tā*-participle' and '*ā*-participle' could be used instead, but they are not unambiguous, the *-ā* being present in both of the forms.

To avoid any undesirable implications, the term '1st participle' could be applied to the type *caltā* 'going', and the term '2nd participle' to the type *calā* 'gone'.

30,23. Tense-forms of unmodified verbs are unmarked with regard to verbal aspect.[505] Consequently, terms applied to tenses should, again, involve no aspectual idea: present (not 'present imperfect'), preterite (not 'historic or narrative perfect'), etc.[506] The term 'imperfect' (for 'past imperfect') can hardly be replaced by any better denomination.

30,3. Hindī has a particular form to denote an action as in progress at a given moment, scil. the modified verbal expression with the grammaticalized *rahā hũ̃,* etc.[507] But this verbal expression does not occur in all tense-forms and cannot be conventiently included in the system of tenses. The term 'imperfective-aspect form' could apply to this expression, but not in the same sense as when the term "imperfective" is used with reference to imperfective verbs in Slavonic languages. In recent research works, imperfective verbs are most often defined negatively, viz. as verbs not possessing the inherent perfective-aspect meaning, i.e., as verbs unmarked with regard to perfectiveness.[508]

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[503] Cf. the uses of the 1st habitual, see above, at nos. 12,1-2, and the uses of the preterite, see above, at nos. 2,1; 2,4; 2,8.

[504] Kellogg, pp. 221-222 (foot-note to § 383) says: "(...) the terms 'present' and 'past', commonly applied to these participles, are not philosophically accurate. These participles, with their dependent tenses, represent action in different stages of progress, not necessarily at different points of time." - That is why Kellogg prefers the terms "imperfect" and "perfect" participles (Kellogg, p. 221 etc.). Similarly, Scholberg (pp. 76-78 etc.), Kachru (Kachru[1], p. 6), Pořízka ("nedokonavé příčestí", "imperfective participle": Pořízka[1], p. 109 etc.; "dokonavé příčestí", "perfective participle": Pořízka[1], p. 130 etc.), Katenina ("причастие несовершенного вида", "совершенного вида": Katenina[1], p. 57; Katenina[2], p. 1319), Hälsig (p. 82: "das imperfektive Partizip", "das perfektive Partizip").

Many scholars, however, retain the term "present" and "past" participles. Thus, Sharma, A. (p. 79 etc.), Sharma, S. (pp. 24, 48, etc.); "причастие настоящего времени", "прошедшего времени": Barannikov[1], p. 70 etc., Barannikov[2], p. 1271 etc.; Beskrovnyj[3], pp. 789-790; Dymšic[1], p. 59 etc., Dymšic[2], p. 1069; etc.

[505] Cf. above, at nos. 2-15.

[506] Kellogg mentions "Tenses of the Imperfect Participle" denoting action as *imperfect* or *incomplete* (§ 763, p. 455), or as *unfinished* (§ 774, p. 463), and "Tenses of the Perfect Participle" denoting action as *perfect* or *completed* (§ 783, p. 455). Similarly, Pořízka[2], p. 126, [in this volume, see supra, p. 100] says that, in forms such as *caltā hai* 'he goes', *calā hai* 'he has gone', etc., "(...) the capacity of denoting aspect of action is due to the imperfective or perfective participle of the main verb". After a detailed examination of the perfective aspect in Hindī, these opinions have proved to be untenable.

[507] Cf. above, at no. 8,2.

[508] Cf. Maslov, p. 20; Dostál, p. 15; Kopečný[1], p. 9; Němec[1]; p. 12; Němec[2], p. 303; Havránek[1], p. 219; Isačenko, p. 10.

The term ‘imperfective verbs’ in the sense of verbs unmarked with regard to perfectiveness applies to certain verbs in Slavonic languages: these languages have no particular means for denoting an action in its progress, an action as a process. In Hindī, on the other hand, there are 1. verbs unmarked with regard to perfectiveness (and with regard to any verbal aspect in general), scil. unmodified verbs, and 2. verbal expressions unmarked with regard to perfectiveness, but marked with regard to actual progress of the action, scil. modified verbal expressions with the grammaticalized *rahā hũ.*

Unmodified verbs possess no inherent aspect meaning, but they have their place in the aspect system as counterparts of modified verbal expressions marked with regard to perfectiveness. For this reason, unmodified verbs may be considered zero-aspect verbs capable of being placed in the aspect system only by virtue of their relation to the modified verbal expressions marked with regard to perfectiveness. This correlation is evident from the conspectus given below. For some infrequent forms of the modified verbal expression with *jānā,* no documentary evidence could be gathered before setting up of this paper. In this conspectus, such forms are marked with the asterisk.

unmodified form (unmarked with regard to verbal aspect)		modified form (marked with regard to perfective aspect)	unmodified form (unmarked with regard to verbal aspect)	
			present	*girtā hai* (he) falls (he) is falling
			imperfect	*girtā thā* (he) usually fell, (he) fell (several times), (he) was falling
1st subjunctive	*gire* (he) may fall	*gir jāe* (he) may fall (down)	2nd subjunctive	*girtā hoe, girtā ho* (he) may be falling
1st future	*giregā* (he) will fall	*gir jāegā* (he) will fall (down)	2nd future	*girtā hogā* (he) will be falling, I suppose he is falling
a) 1st habitual b) 1st conditional	*girtā* a) (he) usually fell he fell (several times) b) (he) would fall (down) (he) would have fallen (down)	*gir jātā* a) (he) fell (down) (several times) b) (he) would fall (down), (he) would have fallen (down)	a) 2nd habitual b) 2nd conditional	*girtā hotā* a) (he) usually was falling b) (he) would be falling, (he) would have been falling
imperative	*gir* fall (thou) *giro* fall *giriye* (please) fall	*gir jā* fall (thou down) *gir jāo* fall (down) *gir jāiye* (please) fall (down)	infinitive	*girnā* 1. to fall 2. *m.* the falling 3. *adj.* cadendum
absolutive	*gir,* *girkar,* *(girke)* having fallen	*gir jā,* *gir jākar,* *(gir jāke)* having fallen (down)	verbal adjective	*girne vālā* 1. falling, 2. (that is) about to fall

modified form (marked with regard to perfective aspect)		unmodified form (unmarked with regard to verbal aspect)		modified form (marked with regard to perfective aspect)
	preterite	*girā* (he) fell		*gir gayā* (he) fell (down)
gir jātā hai (he) falls (down)	perfect	*girā hai* (he) has fallen		*gir gayā hai* (he) has fallen (down)
gir jātā thā (he) fell (down) (several times)	past perfect	*girā thā* (he) had fallen		*gir gayā thā* (he) had fallen (down)
**gir jātā hoe,* **gir jātā ho* (he) may fall (down)	3rd subjunctive	*girā hoe* *girā ho* (he) may have fallen		*gir gayā hoe,* *gir gayā ho* (he) may have fallen (down)
gir jātā hogā I suppose he falls (down)	3rd future	*girā hogā* (he) will have fallen, I suppose he fell		*gir gayā hogā* (he) will have fallen (down), I suppose he fell (down)
**gir jātā hotā* a) (he) fell down (several times) b) (he) would fall (down), (he) would have fallen (down)	a) 3rd habitual b) 3rd conditional	*girā hotā* a) (he) usually has fallen, (he) has fallen (several times) b) (he) would have fallen		*gir gayā hotā* a) (he) has fallen (down) (several times) b) (he) would have fallen (down)
gir jānā 1. to fall (down) 2. *m.* the falling (down) 3. *adj.* cadendum	1st participle	adjectival	*girtā,* *girtā huā* falling	*gir jātā,* **gir jātā huā* falling (down)
		adverbial	*girte,* *girte hue* while falling	*gir jāte,* **gir jāte hue* while falling (down)
gir jāne vālā 1. falling (down) 2. (that is) about to fall (down)	2nd participle	adjectival	*girā,* *girā huā* fallen	*gir gayā,* **gir gayā huā* fallen (down)
		adverbial	*gire,* *gire hue* in the state of having fallen	**gir gaye,* **gir gaye hue* in the state of having fallen (down)

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Zubatý	Josef Z u b a t ý, *Zdraviti, pozdraviti.* Naše řeč VII, Praha 1923, pp. 33-42.

ON SOME VERBAL EXPRESSIONS IN HINDĪ

The actual present (the present continuous, the progressive form). The perfective verbal expressions

1. In Hindī, a combination of the simple absolutive of a main verb with a modifying[1] verb often has the function of a verb. Such verbal expressions are generally called „compound verbs" although they cannot be regarded as true compounds.[2] These verbal expressions in Hindī and analogous formations in other New Indo-Aryan languages are a typical New Indo-Aryan verbal category; on the other hand, compound verbs proper, i.e., prefixal compound verbs, frequent in the Old Indo-Aryan, withered away in later stages of Indo-Aryan languages.[3]

2. A verbal expression is only formed when its component parts present a close combination. Thus, in Hindī, the simple absolutive of a main verb forming a close combination with a modifying verb loses its quasi-predicative value: the non-sentence predication implied in the absolutive disappears and, at the same time, the modifying verb, losing its lexical meaning, fulfils the function of a grammatical word. We have, e.g., *maĩ ā rahā hū̃* 'I am coming', lit., 'having come I have remained'; the expression serves to denote the action as in progress at the moment of speaking (actual present); *maĩ ā gayā* 'I came', lit., 'having come I went'; the expression signifies perfectiveness of the action.

When, however, *rahā hū̃* 'I have remained' (or other verb capable of forming modified verbal expressions) is not grammaticalized, it retains its lexical meaning and no verbal expression is formed. Thus, appearing alternately in the one or the other function, the component parts form a close or a loose combination, and the sense of the statement varies accordingly. Looser combinations remain neutral in respect of verbal aspect; this applies in particular to combinations such as *le jānā* 'to take away' (non-perfective or perfective; lit., 'to go (after) having taken').[4]

3. In Hindī, the same meaning may often be expressed either by an unmodified (i.e., simple) verb or by its modified counterpart (i.e., by a modified verbal

[1] The modifying verb is often termed an „auxiliary" („helping", „subsidiary", „secondary", „formative", verb). Cf. Pořízka1 I, pp. 66-67 [in this volume, see supra, p. 133].

[2] Cf. Kellogg, p. 258. - The term „compound verb" is sometimes used to denote a „semantic unity" (not semantic unit) in a very broad sense comprising compound verbal bases, combinations of an absolutive or participle with other verbs, verbonominal expressions, combinations of modal or other verbs with an infinitive, etc. Cf. Vale, pp. 2-3 et passim.

[3] Cf. Barkhudarov, p. 105-112. - Vale, p. 317.

[4] For some examples with *rahā hū̃,* see below, at no. 14. For those with *jānā* 'to go', see Pořízka[1] III, pp. 249-250 [supra, p. 188]; IV, p. 19 [supra, p. 189-190]. For looser combinations with *jānā*, see Pořízka[1] I, p. 72 [supra, p. 138]; II, p. 231 [supra, p. 173].

expression). We have, e.g., *maĩ ātā hū̃* 'I come', 'I am coming';[5] *maĩ ā rahā hū̃* 'I am coming'; *maĩ āyā* or *maĩ ā gayā* 'I came'; *jo huā so huā* or *jo ho gayā so ho gayā* 'whatever has happened has happened';[6] etc. This fact, however, does not mean that the unmodified verb and its modified counterpart may be indiscriminately interchanged. Having developed from an absolutival construction, the modified verbal expression has taken over one of the functions fulfilled by the unmodified verb, e.g., the function of denoting the actual progress of an action (as in the case of verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃*) or that of signifying the perfectiveness of an action (as in the case of verbal expressions with *jānā* 'to go', etc.). These particular functions are the *raison d'être* of the modified verbal expressions: actualness (progressiveness) of the action is a 'mark' of the action as denoted by the verbal expression with *rahā hū̃*, perfectiveness of the action is a 'mark' of the action as signified by the verbal expressions with *jānā* 'to go', *denā* 'to give', *lenā* 'to take', etc. On the other hand, the unmodified (i.e., simple) verb has not lost its capacity of expressing the aspects of the verbal action, i.e., the actualness (progressiveness) or perfectiveness of the action respectively, and it does express these verbal aspects in certain contexts or situations, though „unmarkedly" only.[7]

4. Some examples of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs used in the present tense denoting an action as in progress at the moment of speaking (actual present):[8]

'Kahā̃ j ā t e h o ?' - *„Tumhāre pās ātā thā."* - '*Maĩ yah hū̃ ...*' (Kumār[1], p. 115) 'Where are you going?' - „I am on the way (lit., 'I was going') to your place." - 'Here I am ...'

maĩ āp ko praṇām k a r t ā h ū̃, bhante! (Prabhākar[1], p. 24) 'I pay obeisance to you, Your Reverence!'

tum aise kyõ d e k h t ī h o ...? (Prabhākar[2], p. 154) 'Why are you looking like this ...?'

are, baiṭho bhī ... - Lo, b a i ṭ h t ī h ū̃ (Prabhākar[1], p. 98) 'Oh, do sit down ...' - „Look, I am sitting down."[9]

k a h t ī h ū̃, maĩ abhī ātī hū̃ ... k a h t ī to h ū̃, maĩ abhī ātī hū̃ (Kumār[2], p. 336) 'I say I shan't be long ... well, I do say I shan't be long.'

5. Some examples of the verbal expression with *rahā hū̃* denoting an action as in progress at the moment of speaking (actual present):[10]

tum kahā̃ j ā r a h e h o? (Kumār[3], p. 196) 'Where are you going?'

'yahā̃ kyā kar rahe ho?' - *„Vicār kar rahā hū̃"* (Prasād, p. 63) 'What are you doing here?' - „I am thinking."

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[5] Cf. below, at no. 6.

[6] Cf. Pořízka[1] I, p. 77 [supra, p. 143].

[7] For examples, see below (at nos. 4-6; 10) and Pořízka[1] I, pp. 74, 78, 80, etc. [supra, p. 140, 143, 145 etc.].

[8] Cf. Pořízka[1] II, pp. 211 [supra, p. 155].

[9] Here, *baiṭhnā* means 'to get into a sitting position' (cf. Bailey[3], p. 73), 'to assume sitting posture' (Bailey[3], p. 306). On the other hand, we have, e. g. *vah kursī par b a i ṭ h t ā h a i* 'he sits on a chair' (habitual action, Kachru, p. 50); *vah kursī par b a i ṭ h ā h a i* 'he is seated on a chair' (perfect denoting the state of being seated). - Margot Hälsig's statement (Hälsig, p. 118) that *baiṭhnā* means 'to sit' („sitzen"), in contrast to *baiṭh jānā* 'to sit down' („sich setzen") is inaccurate and misleading. - Cf. examples given in Pořízka[1] II, pp. 216-217 [supra, p. 160].

[10] Cf. Pořízka[1] II, pp. 211-212 [supra, p. 155].

hailo! Jī, hã̃, maĩ Hemcandr(a) b o l r a h ā h ū̃ (Prabhākar[1], p. 88) 'Hullo! Yes (Sir), this is Hemchandra calling.'

dekho, vah kisān ā rahā hai (Sinh, A., p. 18) 'Look, there comes the peasant.'

6. In one and the same context of conversation, one and the same actual present action may be expressed by an unmodified verb (i.e., unmarkedly) in one case, and by the verbal expression with *rahā hū̃* (i.e., markedly) in another case. E.g.:

maĩ dūr se ā t ā h ū̃ ... maĩ bahut dūr se ā r a h ā h ū̃ (Kumār[2], p. 336) 'I am coming from far ... I am coming from very distant countries.'

7. To get an approximate idea of the frequency of verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃,* one may read, e.g., the short story *Pardeśī (Foreigner)* by Jainendra Kumār.[11] This short story is, in the main, a dialogue between a man and a woman. In the dialogue, there are 100 instances of the present tense of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs (leaving apart the verb *saknā* 'to be able to [do]'). This number includes 63 instances of actual present expressed by the present tense of unmodified verbs denoting an action as in progress at the moment of speaking. The verbal expression with *rahā hū̃, rahā hai,* etc., occurs in 21 instances; each time signifying an action as in progress at the present moment from the speaker's point of view, i.e., functioning as the actual present. This is exactly a third part as compared with 63 instances where the actual present is expressed by an unmodified (i.e., simple) verb.

8. The verb *honā* 'to be', 'to become', 'to happen'[12] has the simple present *hū̃* '(I) am', *hai* '(he) is' etc. This form, used alone or as copula, very often serves to express actual present state. E.g.:

maĩ hī to h ū̃ (Kumār[2], p. 340) 'It is I, to be sure.'

to yah laṛkā h a i! (Prabhākar[3], p. 16) 'So this is the boy!'

vah dekho, Śannodevī kharī h a ĩ (Nehrū, M., p. 458) 'Look, there is standing Śannodevī.'

9. The compound present *hotā hū̃* may denote an action in progress at the present moment when the sense of 'becoming' or 'happening' is meant or is at least possible.[13] Compare:

mujhe mālūm h a i ki āj abhī us kā fon āyā thā (Prabhākar[1], p. 92) 'I know (lit., 'it is known to me') that she has rung up still today.'

sab bātõ ko dekhne se aisā mālūm h o t ā h a i ki gāṛī chūṭne vālī hai (Gupt, p. 4) 'All (circumstances) indicate that the train is on the point of going away,' lit., 'from observing all things it becomes known that ...'

apne se hī bāt kartā mālūm h o t ā h a i (Ajñey[2], p. 84) 'he seems[14] to be talking with himself.'

10. The markedly actual present *ho rahā hai* means '(it) is happening', 'is taking place', 'is arising', and the like, provided that *rahā hai* is fully grammaticalized.[15] E.g.:

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[11] Kumār[2], pp. 336-342.

[12] Paul Hacker's statement (Hacker[1], p. 25) that *honā* means 'to be' („sein"), in contrast to *ho jānā* 'to become' (werden), is inaccurate and misleading. In this point, Paul Hacker is followed by Margot Hälsig (cf. Hälsig, p. 118). - For details, see Pořízka[1] I, pp. 77-78 [supra, p. 143]; II, pp. 215, 217 [supra, p. 159, 161]; III, pp. 236-239 [supra, p. 175-179]; for *huā,* see also below, at no. 22.

[13] This point is discussed in detail by Hacker[2], pp. 261-287.

[14] For the difference between the meaning of *mālūm hai* and that of *mālūm hotā hai*, see, e. g., Platts, p. 1049, s. v. *ma'lūm;* Bailey[2], p. 15; Lienhard, pp. 62-63; Hacker[2], pp. 282-283.

ḍākṭar sāhab, yah kyā h o r a h ā h a i ? (Prabhākar[1], p. 120) ‘What is the matter, doctor?’

khānā ṭhaṇḍā h o r a h ā h a i (Kumār[3], p. 104) ‘The dinner is becoming cold.’

baṛā śor h o r a h ā h a i (Bailey[1], p. 21) ‘There is (is done, arises) an awful noise.’ *Praśānt, āj tumhẽ h o kyā r a h ā h a i* ? (Kumār[4], p. 147) ‘Praśānt, what’s the matter with you today?’

Suddhā, tujhe yah kyā h o r a h ā h a i ? Tū ekāek pīlī kyõ paṛ gaī hai? (Prabhākar[2], p. 158) ‘Suddhā, what’s the matter with you? Why have you turned pale suddenly?’

11. In mental apprehension of the speaker, an actual present action may be transposed together with the moment of speaking into another time sphere.[16] Thus, verbal expressions with *rahā hũ̃* may function as scenic present, historic present, etc. Besides, these expressions may be used with reference to repeated or habitual actions as taking place at the present time.[17]

dṛśy(a) badaltā hai. Rāmāv(a)tār kā ḍrāiṅgrūm. Vah sig(a)reṭ p ī r a h ā h a i (Nehrū, M. p. 456) ‘The scene changes. Rāmāvatār’s drawing-room. He is smoking a cigarette.’ Scenic present.

tīn-cār laṛke ek ḍibbe mẽ se mũh nikāl kar d e k h r a h e h a ĩ. Ve kisī kī pratīkṣā k a r r a h e h a ĩ (Gupt, p. 4) ‘Several boys are looking out of one railway carriage. They are waiting for someone.’ Narrator’s speech.

sab kahĩ yah h o r a h ā h a i ... baṛe se baṛe gharõ mẽ ... Binā kanyā dekhe vivāh ab baṛe gharõ mẽ nahĩ hotā (Miśra, p. 115) ‘That’s done everywhere ... in the best families ... Nowadays, in better families, nobody takes a girl in marriage without having seen her.’

kaī roz se ek qaidī ko d e k h r a h ā h ũ̃ (Kumār[5], p. 84) ‘Since several days, I have been watching a prisoner.’

The verbal expression with *rahā hũ̃* may also serve to signify a future action. E.g.:

kahiye, āp kab ā r a h e h a ĩ? (Prabhākar[4], p. 30) ‘Please say, - when are you coming?’

12. Paul Hacker and V. M. Beskrovnyj have observed that, in some contexts, the combination of the simple absolutive with *rahā hũ̃* (or *rahā thā,* etc.) cannot indicate the progress of the action. P. Hacker does not discuss this case in detail.[18] V. M. Beskrovnyj tries to solve the problem by dividing the uses of „verbal bases“ (i.e., simple absolutives) with *rahnā* into two groups:

1) „Intensive verbs“, formed from some intransitive verbs; in this case, *rahnā* may appear in any finite form or in the infinitive.[19] The meaning of „intensive forms“ takes a nuance of fixation of state.[20]

2) „Durative verbs“, formed by combining the „durative participle“ with the copula *hũ̃, hai*, etc.[21] The „durative participle“ is formed from the simple absolutive of any verb by adding the participle *rahā.*[22]

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[15] Cf. Pořízka1 II, p. 214 [supra, p. 158].

[16] Cf. Kopečný[1], pp. 7, 15.

[17] Cf. Pořízka1 II, p. 220 [supra, p. 163].

[18] Hacker[2], p. 290: »Das aktuelle Präsens *ho rahā hai* scheint manchmal semantisch zu *hai* zu gehören, z B. in dem Satz: *us vaqt maĩ bhī andhā ho rahā thā,* „Damals war ich auch noch blind“... In solchen Sätzen kann *rahnā* den Sinn unseres „noch“ wiedergeben.«

[19] Beskrovnyj, pp. 83-93.

[20] Beskrovnyj, p. 85.

V. M. Beskrovnyj believes that the „durative participle“ serves to express the durative and progressing character of an action or state, and that it always maintains this meaning.[23] This opinion, however, is disproved by documentary evidence showing that the combination of a simple absolutive with the participle *rahā* has no necessarily inherent meaning of a durative and progressing character of action or state. E.g.:

us mẽ sañcit h o r a h ī uttej(a)nā bikhrī nahĩ (Ajñey[1], p. 178) ‘The energy accumulated in it (i.e., in Śekhar’s body) did not dissipate.’ Here, the participle *rahī* retains much of its lexical meaning: *sañcit ho rahī uttej(a)nā,* lit., ‘the energy that has remained, after being accumulated’, simply means ‘the accumulated energy’. The context does not suggest any progress of the accumulation.

On the other hand, we have, e.g.:

... prastāv par vibhinn(a) yoj(a)nā-lakṣyõ kī pragati kī jā̃c ke silsile mẽ is samay h o r a h e parīkṣaṇõ ke bād hī vicār kiyā jā saktā hai (NBhT, p. 1) ‘... the motion may only be considered after investigations that are at present b e i n g m a d e in connection with inquiring into the progress of (carrying out) the plan in its various aspects.’ Here, the participle *rahe* is fully grammaticalized and its lexical meaning is lost; progress of the action at the moment is expressed.

Thus, the two discussed functions of *rahnā* are found even in what is called the „durative participle“ by V. M. Beskrovnyj. The only point of relevance for the distinction between them is the fact of grammaticalization of *rahā*, or the absence of its grammaticalization.

13. Discussing the „durative verbs“, V. M. Beskrovnyj mentions, among other „durative forms“, also the combination of the „durative participle“ with the „non-standard copula“ *hotā hai.*[24] Strictly speaking, the form *hotā hai* is the present-tense form of *honā* ‘to be’, ‘to become’, ‘to happen’, fulfilling here the same function as when used with a noun, or an adjective, in the predicate. E.g.:

rājkanyā na sahī, jab vah maidān mẽ ghūm rahā hotā hai, tab vahā̃ itnī laṛkiyā̃ k h e l r a h ī h o t ī h a ĩ, kyõ nahĩ un mẽ hī koī chipī huī ṭāpūvāsinī ākar use bulātī, „Āo. Tum hamāre abādh khel mẽ śāmil hoo!“ (Ajñey[1], pp. 112-113) »Oh all right, if not a princess. When he takes a walk (lit., ‘is [one who is] taking a walk’) on the maidān, there are (always) so many girls playing there (lit., ‘girls are [ones who are] playing there’); why an islander hidden among them does not come and call to him: „Come! Join us in our free plays!“«

The simple 1st (imperfective, present) participle or the simple 2nd (perfective, past) participle may be used in the same way. E.g.:

vah sīdhā-sādā ādmī hotā hai. Ghar kuṭumb vālā hotā hai. Apne pyārõ ko pyār kartā hotā hai (Kumār[3], p. 82) ‘It (i.e., this type of moral offender) usually is a simple man. It is (a man) having a household and a family. It is (a man) who loves his dear ones.’ Lit., ‘(it) is (one who is) loving ...’

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[21] Beskrovnyj, pp. 93-103.

[22] Beskrovnyj, p. 93. - Similarly, Katenina (p. 58), Dymšic (p. 60), and Hälsig (pp. 85-86).

[23] Beskrovnyj, p. 93: » ...особое причастие несовершенного вида, служащее для выражения длительной и процессивной характеристики действия-состояния. Всегда сохраняя это значение, например *kar-rahā* ‘непрерывно действующий’, *ho-rahā* ‘происходящий’, - это дуративное причастие употребляется атрибутивно и предикативно.«

[24] Beskrovnyj, pp. 98-99.

Is tarah ke log samāj ke rakṣak aur ādhār hote haĩ. Sabhyatā aur sãskṛti inhĩ par ṭ i k ī h o t ī h a i (Kumār[5], p. 80) 'People of this kind are guardians and support of the society. Civilization and culture rests upon them.' Lit., '... is (one that is) supported by them.'

us ne ek naī bāt sīkhī hai. Us ke pitā jis samay daftar gaye hote haĩ, tab dupahar ke bārah-ek baje, vah apne ghar se nikalkar, apne pahāṛ kī coṭī se kuch dūr par, ek path ke kināre kāhī ke vistar par baiṭh rahtā hai (Ajñey[1] p. 171) 'He has learnt a new thing. At the time when his father is (usually) at his office (lit., 'is [one who has] gone to the office'), at noon or at one o'clock, he goes away from his house, sits down on a seat of grass by the side of a road at a distance from the summit of his mountain, and remains (there).'

14. In Hindī, some grammatical words have developed from verbal forms.[25] Such words are fully grammaticalized in some contexts or situations, but remain ungrammaticalized in other contexts or situations. This also applies to *rahā hũ̃* in the verbal expressions under consideration. When not fully grammaticalized, *rahā hũ̃* retains, to some degree at least, the force of the perfect of *rahnā* 'to remain'. The sense of the statements varies accordingly.[26] E.g.:

ab mehtar huqqā p ī r a h ā h a i. Us ke bacce miṭṭī se k h e l r a h e h a ĩ, aur maile h o r a h e h a ĩ (Bailey[1], p. 19) 'Now the sweeper is smoking (his) hookah. His children are playing with the dust, and getting dirty.' Actual present; *rahā hai, rahe haĩ* are fully grammaticalized, progress of the action is expressed.

nahā-dho lo aur kapṛe badal lo. Kaise maile h o r a h e h o ! (Kumār[5], p. 120) 'Have a wash and change your clothes. What a dirty state you are in!' Lit., 'you have remained (or: 'you are'), (after) having become dirty'. A present state is expressed as resulting from the action 'to become dirty'. In some languages, this sense is expressed by a verbal adjective denoting a state resulting from a preceding action.[27] The strengthened absolutive has an analogous function in instances such as *vah tum se baṛhkar hai* (Sharma, S., p. 82) 'He is better than you', lit., 'he is, (after) having advanced ahead of you'; *maĩ tum se ghaṭkar hũ̃* (Sharma, S., p. 82) 'I am inferior to you', lit., 'I am, (after) having diminished (in comparison) with you.'

kapṛā s ū k h r a h ā h a i (Ulciferov, p. 604) 'The linen is getting dry.' Actual present, progress of the action is expressed.

cehrā kālā paṛ gayā hai. Hõṭh s ū k h r a h e h a ĩ (Nāgārjun[1], p. l) '(His) face has turned black. (His) lips are dried up.' Lit., 'lips have remained, (after) having become dry.' A present state is expressed as resulting from the action 'to become dry'. The sense '(his) lips are getting dry', taken by itself, is possible, but it hardly accords with the context describing the countenance of a man under torture. Nāgārjun himself (Nāgārjun[2], p. 80) translates: 'His face had turned black. His lips were dry.' In his original Hindī text, Nāgārjun, using the perfect tense, gives a more vivid description of the scene. Anyhow, his English translation shows that he intended to express a state, not an action in progress. In Czech translation, the sense may be expressed by a verbal adjective denoting a state resulting from a preceding action.[28]

[25] 'We have, e, g., *hokar* 1) 'having been'; 2) 'through', 'viâ'; 3) 'as'; *lekar* 1) 'having taken'; 2) 'with'; *liye, lie'* 1) 'having with (oneself)', 'having (in one's hand)'; 2) 'for', 'on account of'; etc.

[26] Cf. Pořízka[1] II, p. 213 [supra, p. 157].

[27] In Czech: ‚Jak jsi ušpiněn!'

[28] ‚Rty jsou vyschlé' (in a vivid narration, equivalent to: ‚Rty byly vyschlé').

hom ke dhuẽ se naye pattõ kī kā̃ti kaisī dhundhlī h o r a h ī h a i (Sinh, L., p. 5) 'How dim the gloss of new leaves is, owing to the smoke of burnt-offerings!' Lit., 'has remained, (after) having become dim.' A present state is expressed as resulting from the action 'to become dim'.[29]

'*Bhram! Tumhāre hṛday mẽ un kī smṛti hai, un ke ādeś haĩ. Kyā vah ab sab tumhẽ bhram hai?*' - *„Mahārānī, smṛti dhundhlī h o r a h ī h a i aur ādeś k h o r a h e h a ĩ. Bhram ho bhī saktā hai"* (Kumār[3], p. 131) 'Blunder! You have his memory (and) his orders in your heart. Is all that to you a blunder now?' - „Queen, the memory has become dim and the orders have been forgotten (lit., 'lost'). A blunder is also possible."[30] The sense 'the memory is becoming dim and the orders are getting lost' is possible in itself, but, in the given context, improbable.

kyā māmlā hai? Baṛī udās h o r a h ī h a i (Nehrū M., p. 454) (Mother to her daughter:) 'What's the matter? You have become very sad.' Lit., 'you have remained, (after) having become sad.' A present state is expressed as resulting from the action 'to become sad'.[31] The sense 'you are becoming sad', taken by itself, is possible, but it hardly squares with the given context.

15. These varying uses of verbal expressions with *rahā hū̃* are a crux for learners of Hindī. In any case, the sense of the statement depends upon the context or situation and upon the intention of the speaker or writer. When a state resulting from a preceding action is intended, the speaker uses *rahā hū̃* in the sense of the perfect tense 'I have remained' (often equivalent to 'I am'): *tum maile ho rahe ho* 'you are in a dirty state (owing to what you have done)'. When an actual present action is meant, the speaker uses *rahā hū̃* as a grammatical word: *tum maile ho rahe ho* 'you are getting dirty'.

Similarly, we have, e.g., *vah uṭh gayā* 1) 'he rose and went away' (loose combination, the preterite *gayā* retains its lexical meaning); 2) 'he rose' (close combination, *gayā* is fully grammaticalized).[32]

Thus, one and the same combination of the simple absolutive of a main verb with verbs such as *rahā hū̃, jānā,* etc. may serve varying purposes in compliance with the context or situation and with the intention of the speaker.

16. The Hindī actual present *maĩ ā rahā hū̃* 'I am coming' has its equivalent counterpart in the English expanded present tense form 'I am coming', though, genetically, it is quite a different formation. On the other hand, the Hindī present *maĩ ātā hū̃* 'I come' has its equivalent counterpart in the English simple present-tense form 'I come', though, genetically again, it is quite a different formation, resembling that of the English present progressive 'I am coming'.

Having compared the forms and functions of the two present forms in English, Gerhard Nickel comes to this conclusion: „The simple form is both in form and function the unmarked (neutral) form. It has no basic significance of its own, but is determined by the context. The expanded form as the marked form denotes the imperfective aspect. It selects one of the functions of the simple form; i.e. its function is selective."[33]

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[29] In Czech: ‚Jak je (lesk listů) zkalen!'

[30] In Czech (somewhat loose translation): ‚Vzpomínka je vybledlá a o rozkazech nic nevím' (‚jsou ztraceny').

[31] In Czech: ‚Jsi velmi skleslá (zesmutnělá)'.

[32] For more details, see Pořízka[1] III, pp. 249-251 [supra, p. 187-189]; IV, pp. 19-20 [supra, p. 189-191].

[33] Nickel, p. 391.

In Hindī, the simple verb is the unmarked (neutral) form. Its marked counterparts are the verbal expressions combining the absolutive of the main verb with a modifying verb. They select the one or the other of the functions of the simple, unmodified, verb (according to what modifying verb is used), i.e., their functions are selective: verbal expressions with *rahā hũ̃* denote an action as in progress, those with *jānā* 'to go', 'to go away' (or, *denā* 'to give'; *lenā* 'to take'; etc.) signify the perfective aspect of the action expressed. In any case, however, the verbal expression is only formed when the modifying verb is fully grammaticalized.

17. These findings contradict some assertions found in *A Basic Grammar of Modern Hindi* published by Aryendra Sharma. Mentioning the present tense (termed 'the indicative present'), A. Sharma says: „As for the aspect, the above forms are terminate: they represent the act ('moving' etc.) as a whole, a fact, not as progressing. The progressive aspect ('he is going') is expressed with the help of the auxiliary *rahā, rahe, rahī* compounded with the main root."[34]

But A. Sharma himself disproves his own statement. He says: „A sentence like *vah jhūṭh boltā hai* 'he tells a lie' may mean either 'he lies habitually' or 'he is (on this occasion) telling a lie'. If therefore, the reference is to a particular occasion, *vah jhūṭh bol rahā hai* would be preferable. For denoting a continued action, the *rahā* form is almost exclusively used."[35]

The conclusion is that the present of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs may denote a habitual action, a general fact, etc., or an action as in progress at the present time. In other words, tbe present of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs is unmarked (neutral) in respect of verbal aspect.

18. Similarly, documentary evidence disproves A. Sharma's opinion concerning the functions of the preterite in Hindī („indicative past", in A. Sharma's terminology). A. Sharma says: „The indicative past, as discussed above, invariably refers to a particular act done in the past. It is never used with reference to an act habitually or regularly done in the past, for which the habitual past is used. The common forms noted above are, obviously, terminate: they represent a particular past action as a whole or as a fact, not as going on."[36]

In reality, however, the preterite may denote not only an action done on one occasion, but also a multiplied (repeated) action,[37] and even an action that was in progress for a certain period in the past.[38] In other words, the preterite of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs is unmarked (neutral) in respect of verbal aspect (thus, in particular, the preterite *huā*, see below, at no. 22). This fact is in no way altered by the circumstance that the preterite is most often used in the very contexts and situations occasioning the meaning of perfectiveness.

19. The difference between the perfective and imperfective verbal aspects is a much discussed problem, definitions of the aspects vary considerably.[39] Still,

[34] Sharma, A., p. 64.
[35] Sharma, A., p. 65.
[36] Sharma, A., p. 67.
[37] For details and examples, see Pořízka[1] I pp. 74-75 [supra, p. 140-141].
[38] For more details and examples, see Pořízka[1] I, pp. 75-77 [supra, p. 141-142].
[39] For some details, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 31-42 [supra, pp. 200-210]. - A tentative definition of the perfective verbal aspect, however, may serve practical purposes. For such a definition, see below, at no. 24.

considering what grammarians have to say on the verbal expressions with *jānā* 'to go'[40] (and on those with some other modifying verbs) and comparing the function of these verbal expressions with the function of perfective verbs in Slavic languages, it can hardly be any doubt that the verbal aspect of the action expressed is the same in all these languages.[41]

20. In Slavic languages, one and the same basic lexical meaning is most often expressed by two verbs. Thus, Slavic languages usually afford two verbs equivalent to one verb of languages such as English, German, French, Italian, Latin, etc. Some scholars[42] regard this linguistic fact as the best answer to the question what the verbal aspect is.

Mutatis mutandis, the same applies to Hindī. Thus, e.g., the English verb 'to come' may stand for *ānā* (Russian 'приходить', Polish 'przychodzić', Czech 'přicházet') as well as for *ā jānā* (Russian 'прийти', Polish 'przyjść', Czech 'přijít'); English 'to fall' may express the meaning of *girnā* (Russian 'падать', Polish 'padać', Czech 'padat') as well as that of *gir jānā* (Russian 'пасть', Polish 'paść;', Czech 'padnout'); English 'to get up', 'to rise' may be used for *uṭhnā* (Russian 'вставать', 'подниматься', Polish 'wstawać', 'dźwigać się', Czech 'vstávat', 'zdvihat se') and for *uṭh jānā* (Russian 'встать', 'подняться', Polish 'wstać', 'dźwignąc się', Czech 'vstát', 'zdvihnout se'): etc.

21. In Slavic languages (as, e.g., in Czech), imperfective verbs are used after verbs denoting phase of an action, perfective verbs are not.[43] In Hindī, the same applies to unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs and their perfective counterparts (modified verbal expressions with *jānā* 'to go') respectively.[44] Thus, we have, e.g., *pardā girne lagtā hai* (not: *gir jāne lagtā hai*) 'the curtain begins to fall' (in Czech: 'opona začíná padat', not: 'začíná spadnout').

22. In Slavic languages, imperfective verbs are the 'unmarked' category.[45] Similarly, in Hindī, unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs are the 'unmarked' category. Thus, the preterite *huā* means 1) '(he) was', '(he) existed' (never perfective in this sense);[46] 2) '(he) became', '(it) came to pass', '(it) took place', '(it) happened', and the like. In the latter sense, *huā* may imply perfectiveness by virtue of context

[40] For details, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 31-32; 35-36; 43-44 [supra, pp. 201; 203-204; 211-212]. - In grammars, these verbal expressions are most often called „intensives" (cf. Pořízka1 IV, pp. 45-47 [supra, pp. 213-214]), sometimes „completives" (cf. Pořízka1 IV, pp. 31-32 [supra, pp. 201-202]).

[41] These linguistic facts can be compared and have to be compared no matter what the grammatical terminology may be. But the grammatical terminology itself suggests that the linguistic facts in question must have something in common: verbal expressions with *jānā* are said to be expressive of „completenes", „completiveness", „fullness" of the action (cf. Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 31-32; [supra, pp. 200-201]), Slavic perfective verbs are defined as verbs denoting an action as a whole, as a complex fact; some Slavists say that these verbs signify completion of the action (cf. the quotations given in Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 32-33; [supra, pp. 201-202]). On the other hand, when the term „aspect" is applied to 'syntactical patterning within the sentence' (Burton, p. 469), i. e., to the construction with the nominative of the subject of a sentence or with the agentive (case of the agent) respectively, no analogous phenomenon can be found in Slavic languages. For some notes on J. Burton-Page's terminology, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 28-29 and foot-note 333 [supra, p. 198].

[42] Koschmieder[1], p. 1. - Koschmieder[2], p. 3. - Kopečný[1], p. 6.

[43] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 11.

[44] See Pořízka[1] IV, p. 30 [supra, pp. 199-200].

[45] Cf. Kopečný[2], pp. 12, 100, 107; Kopečný[1], pp. 8-10. - Havránek, p. 219.

[46] For some examples of this use, see Pořízka[1] I, p. 77 [supra, p. 143].

or situation; in other words, it is unmarked (neutral) in respect of verbal aspect.[47] On the other hand, the modified verbal expression *ho gayā* '(he) became' is always perfective.

To some extent, *honā* 1) 'to be'; 2) 'to become' may be parallelled with the Old Slavonic verb *byti.* In Old Slavonic, *byti* has double meaning and double aspect: in the sense of *esse*, it is imperfective; in the sense of *fieri,* it is perfective.[48]

For the character of the present of unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs as the unmarked category representing the counterpart of the marked category of modified verbal expressions, see above, at nos. 3; 16-17.

23. In contrast to unmodified (i.e., simple) verbs, the perfective verbal expressions with *jānā* 'to go' are not used to denote an actual present action. They generally serve to express other meanings, such as those of scenic, or dramatic, present, of historic present, characterizing present, gnomic present, etc.[49] In this respect, there is an analogy between Hindī and Slavic languages, though, in Slavic languages, the present of perfective verbs most frequently denotes a future action.[50] The Hindī usage shows rather common features with the function of perfective present tense forms in Lithuanian.[51]

These uses lead to the conclusion that perfective verbs (or, perfective verbal expressions, as in Hindī) constitute a particular grammatical category.[52]

24. In establishing the category of the perfective verbal aspect, semantic criteria only play a secondary role. Still, they may be helpful when combined with those gathered from grammatical examinations.

The perfective verbal expression denotes an action as marked with regard to its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final, resultant, stage, sometimes, however, marking the beginning of the action.[53]

Other semantic criteria are completeness, or fullness, of the action, its suddenness, hastiness, unexpectedness, inconsiderateness, etc. These criteria apply to both the perfective verbal expressions in Hindī and the perfective verbs in Slavic languages.[54]

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[47] Cf. Pořízka[1] I, pp. 77-78 [supra, p. 143]. - In view of this character of the preterite of unmodified (i. e., simple) verbs, the participle functioning as preterite cannot be conveniently termed „perfective" (or „perfect") participle (Pořízka[2], p. 130 et passim: „perfective participle"; - Kellogg, p. 224 et passim: „perfect participle"). The term „past" participle is also objectionable (cf. Kellogg, p. 222 foot-note). The participle may be simply termed „the 2nd participle". Cf. Pořízka[1] V, p. 355 [supra, p. 223].

For similar reasons, the term „1st participle" can be convenietly applied to what is called „imperfective" („imperfect") or „present" participle: compare its uses as finite verb in the 1st habitual and the 1st conditional, see Pořízka[1] II, pp. 221-223 [supra, p. 164-166].

A markedly perfective participle is only formed with perfective verbal expressions, see Pořízka[1] II, p. 228 [supra, p. 170-171].

[48] Cf. Dostál, p. 146. - By the way, it may be noted that both the Old Slavonic verb *byti (by-ti)* and the Hindi *huā* (**bhūta-ka-,* Sanskrit *bhūta-*) are etymologically connected with the Indo-European root *bhū-.

[49] For a detailed discussion, see Pořízka[1] II, pp. 215-219 [supra, p. 159-163].

[50] For the uses of the present of perfective verbs in Czech, see, e. g., Kopečný[1], pp. 31-35.

[51] See Dambriūnas, p. 256.

[52] Cf. Kopečný[1], p. 40. - Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 40-43 [supra, p. 208-211].

[53] Cf. Pořízka[1] IV, p. 34 [supra, p. 203].

[54] Cf. Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 43-45 [supra, p. 210-213].

„Completeness“ of an action does not necessarily mean that the action belongs to the past: *pardā pūrā gir jātā hai* (Prabhākar[3], pp. 30, 41) (or: *pardā pūrī tarah gir jātā hai*) (Prabhākar[1], p. 84) ‘the curtain falls completely’ - scenic present.[55]

On the other hand, momentariness is no criterion of perfectiveness: a perfective verb (or, perfective verbal expression, as in Hindī) may denote a point-like action, or an action realized in a great span of time;[56] it may signify a concrete single action realized at one occasion only, or a repeated, habitual, action.[57]

25. A perfective verbal expression with *jānā* ‘to go’ used in an affirmative sentence often has an unmodified (i.e., simple) verb as its counterpart in a negative sentence. E.g.: *sab ā gaye ... Nirmalā nahĩ āī* (Prabhākar[5], p. 8) ‘All have come ... Nirmalā hasn’t come.’[58]

In Slavic languages, there are also some restrictions upon the uses of perfective verbs in negative sentences. A clue to the problem may be found in Igor Němec’s observation that a negated action expresses, in substance, a state of the subject.[59] His idea is supported by what we find in Hindī: the use of absolutival constructions with a negative is avoided when a state is meant: constructions with the adverbial 2nd (perfective, past) participle serve the purpose. Thus, we read in a dissertation published by Yamuna Kachru: *baccā dūdh p ī k a r so gayā* ‘the child went to sleep after drinking (some) milk’, but: *baccā dūdh p i y e b i n ā so gayā* ‘the child went to sleep without having drunk (any) milk’, not: *baccā dūdh n a p ī k a r so gayā*.[60] The reason of these two modes of expression must be looked for in the very nature of the two forms used. In fact, with verbs denoting an action, the absolutive generally signifies action, the adverbial 2nd (perfective, past) participle, however, generally expresses a state resulting from a preceding action. E.g.: *maĩ ãkhẽ band k i y e paṛā hũ̃* (Ajñey[2], p. 93) ‘I am lying with closed eyes’. *mujhe yahã̃ ā y e keval tīn din hue haĩ* (Śarmā, Y., p. 131) ‘It is only three days since I came here.’ The sense is: ‘I have been staying here only three days.’ In translation, a verb denoting action may often be preferred.

These findings may explain the relatively infrequent occurrence of perfective verbal expressions in negative sentences: these expressions have developed from absolutival constructions.[61]

26. Between the perfective verbal expressions and their unmodified counterparts (i.e., simple verbs) there is a sort of „competition“,[62] especially when a transitive verbal expression is used (as, that with *denā* ‘to give’). This fact has been pointed out by J. Burton-Page. Two of his examples read: *us ne tumhẽ kyā becā?* ‘What did he sell you?’ *(milk, or what?); us ne tumhẽ kyā bec diyā!* ‘What did he sell you?’ *(i.e., he ‘sold you a pup’!)*.[63] In the latter example, the object (result) of the action

[55] See Pořízka[1] II, p. 216 [supra, pp. 159-160]; IV, p. 43 [supra, p. 210-211].

[56] For some examples, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 44-45 [supra, p. 211].

[57] For examples, see Pořízka[1] I, pp. 74-75 [supra, pp. 139-141]; II, pp. 222; 224 [supra, pp. 165; 167].

[58] For more quotations, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 21-23 [supra, pp. 191-192].

[59] Němec, p. 33: „Zápor mění determinovaný děj v indeterminovaný, neboť nenastoupení konkrétně jedinečného děje znamená vlastně setrvávání ve stavu, který není nastoupením takového děje přerušován: negovaný děj subjektu (nenastoupení děje subjektu) je v podstatě stav subjektu.“

[60] Kachru, pp. 105-106.

[61] Cf. Pořízka[1] III, p. 249 [supra, p. 187].

[62] For a detailed discussion, see Pořízka[1] IV, pp. 23-30 [supra, pp. 193-199].

[63] Burton, p. 473.

is known, but it is striking, being contrary to any expectation: that is why the perfective verbal expression is used.

J. Burton-Page's observation may be parallelled, to some extent, at least, with the aspectual „competition" in Czech. We ask, using perfective verb, e.g., *Kdopak ti to dal?* (Who gave it to you?), or *Copak ti to dal za cukr?!* (What sort of sugar did he give you?!) when the result of the action is surprising, contrary to expectation, etc. But we ask, using imperfective verb, *Kdopak ti to dával?* (Who gave it to you?) when the action has been expected, when its result is not surprising, e.g., when the thing has been ordered.[64]

27. Among the perfective verbal expressions, those with *jānā* 'to go' signify - so to speak - perfectiveness pure and simple. Thus, the function of the modifying verb *jānā* 'to go' may be compared with that of „empty" prefixes such as *po-* and *u-* in Czech.[65] Other perfective verbal expressions (those with *denā* 'to give', *lenā* 'to take', etc.) combine the idea of perfectiveness with some characteristic shade of meaning corresponding to the idea conveyed in the modifying verb. In Czech, most prefixes of perfective verbs retain their concrete meanings, to some extent, at least.[66]

28. Apart from these common points, there are certain differences between the uses of perfective verbs in Slavic languages and those of perfective verbal expressions in Hindī. After all, in the use of perfective verbs, each language (even each Slavic language) goes its own way. Anyhow, what the languages have in common shows clearly enough that the nature of the perfective verbal aspect is in the main the same in all of them.

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K NĚKTERÝM SLOVESNÝM VÝRAZŮM V HINDŠTINĚ

Aktuální prézens (prézens průběhový). - Dokonavé slovesné výrazy

SOUHRN

V hindštině se některé stejné dějové významy vyjadřují jednak jednoduchým slovesem (vyjádření bezpříznakové), jednak slovesným výrazem tvořeným z jednoduchého přechodníku slovesa plnovýznamového spojením se slovesem modifikujícím (vyjádření příznakové). Tak máme např. pro aktuální (průběhový) prézens jednou bezpříznakové *maĩ ātā hū̃* ‚přicházím', podruhé příznakové *maĩ ā rahā hū̃* ‚(právě) přicházím'. Podobně je pro préteritum ‚přišel jsem' jednou bezpříznakové *maĩ āyā,* podruhé příznakové *maĩ ā gayā.* Tyto hindské slovesné výrazy a analogické výrazy v jiných novoindoárských jazycích jsou pro novoindoárské jazyky typické; naproti tomu slovesné složeniny předponové, hojné v jazykovém období staroindoárském, v pozdějším jazykovém vývoji odumřely.

Slovesný výraz však nevzniká, není-li sloveso, které je schopno význam výrazu modifikovat, gramatikalizováno. Tak např. *maile ho rahe ho* obyčejně znamená ‚špiníš se', někdy však má význam ‚jsi ušpiněn'. Podobně *vah uṭh gayā* jednou značí ‚vstal', jindy ‚vstal a odešel'. O tom, jaký význam má takové spojení v daném případě, rozhoduje souvislost nebo situace a úmysl mluvčího nebo spisovatele.

Funkce dokonavých slovesných výrazů v hindštině má četné rysy společné s funkcí dokonavých sloves v jazycích slovanských: 1) jednomu slovesu anglickému (německému aj.) odpovídají celkem systematicky dva hindské ekvivalenty (sloveso jednoduché a dokonavý slovesný výraz); 2) dokonavý slovesný výraz nelze klást po slovesech fázových; 3) nevyjadřuje se jím aktuální přítomný děj; 4) slouží k vytčení realizace děje jako celku s jeho závěrečnou, výslednou fází; sémantickými kritérii jsou dále náhlost děje, jeho neočekávanost apod.; 5) dokonavý slovesný výraz ve větě kladné mívá jako svůj protějšek ve větě záporné zpravidla sloveso jednoduché (nemodifikované, bezpříznakové); 6) mezi dokonavými slovesnými výrazy a jejich bezpříznakovými protějšky (slovesy jednoduchými) uplatňuje se jistá vidová konkurence; 7) je obdoba mezi funkcí modifikujícího slovesa *jānā* ‚jít' a „prázdnými" předponami dokonavých sloves v češtině; jiné slovesné výrazy v hindštině vyjadřují dokonavost a zároveň jistý významový odstín podle toho, jaký význam má sloveso modifikující; v češtině si předpony v dokonavých slovesech svůj konkrétní význam většinou uchovávají, třebas jen zčásti.

PERFECTIVE VERBAL EXPRESSIONS IN HINDĪ

(A New Line of Approach to the Problem)

1. In Hindī, a verbal action may often be expressed by two verbal forms conveying the same basic lexical meaning: by a simple verb (e.g., *girnā* 'to fall') and by a modified verbal expression (e.g., *gir jānā* 'to fall down'). The modified verbal expression is formed by combining the simple aboslutive of a main verb (e.g., *gir*) with a modifying verb (e.g., *jānā,* as in *gir jānā*). Such a verbal expression denotes the verbal action as modified in a certain sense, hence the term „modified verbal expression". Thus, by *gir jānā,* the idea of 'falling' is denoted as combined with the idea of perfectiveness: 'to fall down'. In this perfective verbal expression, the modifying verb is grammaticalized, i.e., it has lost its lexical meaning and has become a grammatical word (as a lexical unit, *jānā* means 'to go', 'to go away').

In many grammars of Hindī, modified verbal expressions with *jānā* and with some other modifying verbs are collectively termed „intensives". But the term „intensive" is conceived of differently by different scholars (cf. VP 1969, pp. 45-47 [in this volume, see supra, pp. 212-214]), and can hardly be used without incurring the danger of being misunderstood.

Another term, „compound verbs", generally applied to these expressions, may also prove to be misleading as it disregards the fact that the modifying verb may retain its lexical meaning in a higher or lesser degree and that the absolutive is susceptible of varying relations to the modifying verb; the sense often depends upon the context or situation (cf. VP 1968, pp. 249-251; 1969, pp. 19-20 [supra, pp. 187-190]).

Though representing no compounds proper, modified verbal expressions are New Indo-Aryan formations that have replaced - to some extent at least - Sanskrit compounds proper, viz. prefixal verbal compounds. A short remark of S. K. Chatterji (pp. 41-42) illustrates the importance of these historical connections: «With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idiomatic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the „Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbial, + root *sad* = English „sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍā* „sit down", beside *basā* = „to sit"; so Hindi *baiṭh jānā*, beside *baiṭhnā. ...* Tamil *cey viṭṭā<u>n</u>* = „has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche;* Telugu *vrāsi vēyu* = „to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā,* etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e.g., Pali *sampādetvā adaṁsu* = „completed", literally „having finished, gave", compare Bengali *kariyā diyāchila; patitvā gataṁ* = „fell down",

Bengali *paḍiyā gela; maccu ādāya gacchati* = „death takes away", literally „having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy.* Evidently, this novel device characterizing also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.» (The Tamil form *cey* used by S. K. Chatterji in the above quotation should read *ceytu;* cf. the combinations with *viṭ(u)-,* e.g., in Rudin, pp. 71-73.)

Leaving historical, genetical and comparative considerations aside, most grammarians concentrate upon uses of modified verbal expressions as found in Hindī texts. But literary texts are dead letter and cannot answer questions. When, e.g., the use of an expression is to be tested by negative data, i.e., when the investigator tries to find out contexts excluding the use of the expression, he cannot ask the texts, he has to ask speakers of the language. Perhaps all grammarians are aware of this fact even when they do not mention it; some of them refer to negative data when necessary, and, in general, restrictions on uses of grammatical forms etc. are not disregarded in any reliable grammar. Recently, however, an important work appeared treating of the „compound verb" in Hindī methodically and systematically on the basis of linguistic tests, especially with regard to negative data. This line of approach to the problem has been adopted by Peter Edwin Hook.[1]

2. The body of Hook's monograph is in two parts: the first part (pp. 17-144) examines and elaborates the formal and semantic criteria needed to define the class of compound verbs as distinct from other types of verb-verb sequences in Hindī. This part ends with a list of the twenty-two „vector verbs" which in combination with the main verbs form the class of „compound verbs". The second part (pp. 145-318) deals with the most difficult questions: What does the compound verb mean? How and when to use the compound verb in Hindī? It is here that Hook's essay makes its major contribution.

After having pointed out the general lines of his work in a few Introductory Remarks (pp. 1-3), Peter Hook mentions some shortcomings of methods based on textual attestations and gives a detailed information concerning his own method (Methodological Remarks, pp. 4-16). He says (p. 6): „Our methodology has been based on the eliciting of responses or reactions to utterances which we present to speakers of Hindi". This technique of the „reactance frame" (term used by P. E. Hook in his personal correspondence) is very useful in testing modern Hindī usage: informations received from a considerable number of informants enabled P. E. Hook to take into account not only the language of educated people (as, e.g., in textual attestations), but also that of other social strata (illustrated by examples typical of informal, uneducated and dialectal speech; see, e.g., pp. 120-144). Every Hindī utterance cited in his dissertation is provided with information on the reactions of at least three individual speakers of Hindī.

In section three of his book (pp. 17-144), P. E. Hook presents his definitions. In the sentence *maĩ ne preziḍeṇṭ ko ḵẖat likh diyā* 'I wrote a letter to the president', *likh diyā* is the „compound verb" or „vector sequence", *likh* is the main verb, *diyā* is the desinential form of *de,* the „vector verb" (pp. 17-18). Examples of the uses of „vectors" are given on pp. 21-43.

1 Peter Edwin H o o k, *The Compound Verb in Hindi.* The Michigan Series in South and Southeast Asian Languages and Linguistics. No. 1, 1974. The University of Michigan, 1974, XXVI + 318 pp. - Abbreviation used in the text of this paper: PH.

Other definitions are explained and discussed in detail. Beginning with homotactic sequences (pp. 43-93; homotactic verb-verb sequences, p. 44), Hook analyzes these combinations: conjoined main verbs (pp. 44-54), reversal of main and vector verb (pp. 55-64), reversal of conjoined main verbs (pp. 65-72), constellated main verbs (pp. 72-75), reversal of factor verb sequences (pp. 76-83), and modal sequences (p. 84; main and modal verb, pp. 84-93). An important part of Hook's monograph deals with the discriminating properties of the class of „compound verbs" (pp. 94-103), viz. grammaticalization and sensitivity to negation; on the basis of these two criteria, Hook defines the class of „compound verbs" (p. 109). Some more points are elucidated in shorter paragraphs: allotactic sequences (p. 104), opaque conjunct sequences (pp. 104-106), the rule of *kar*-insertion (pp. 106-108), other allotactic sequences (pp. 109-113), and idiomatic vector sequences (pp. 113-119). The class of major vector verbs in Hindī is treated of with careful heed to items of rare occurrence in general and to those typical of informal or uneducated or dialectal speech in particular (pp. 119-144).

In the section four (The Functions of the Compound Verb, pp. 145-313), P. E. Hook reviews opinions of previous writers on the subject (pp. 147-150: H. H. Van Olphen, Paul Hacker, Kalicharan Bahl, S. H. Kellogg, Kamtaprasad Guru; pp. 151-158: Vincenc Pořízka) and elaborates his arguments concerning completion of the action expressed by a „compound" (pp. 163-195). Then he examines the semantic and syntactic environments conditioning the unique (or preferred) occurrence of the simple verb as opposed to the semantic and syntactic environments conditioning the unique (or preferred) occurrence of the „compound" (pp. 196-300). P. E. Hook specifies: neutral environments (pp. 199-200), simple environments (pp. 201-260), compound environments (pp. 261-282), distributed environments (pp. 282-293), and conflicting environments (pp. 293-300).

With the simple environments, P. E. Hook classes: negative expressions (pp. 201-229); *hī* (pp. 230-236); 'barely' and 'with great difficulty' (pp. 236-238); 'first' and 'last' (pp. 238-240); creations and discoveries (pp. 240-242); generic and stative expressions (pp. 243-248); lack of prior knowledge (pp. 248-250); *bār, dafā* (pp. 250-254); *sak-* 'be able', 'can' (pp. 254-257); the progressive *rahā h-* (pp. 258-260).

The compound environments are treated of, again, in a highly detailed exposition: the „intensive" *-e, -yā/e/ī* (pp. 261-266); culmination (p. 267); result clauses (pp. 268-269); *ākhirkār* 'finally' (pp. 269-271); *jab tak ... na ...* (pp. 271-272); involuntary acts, evaded events (pp. 273-274); *koī bhī* 'anyone' (pp. 274-277); termporal *ki*-clauses (pp. 277-282).

In the distributed environments, the presence (or absence) of a given feature conditions either the simple or the „compound verb", while the absence (or presence) of that feature conditions the opposite manifestation and only that (p. 283). This applies to expressions: 'after' : 'before' (pp. 283-288); *jyõ hī - tyõ hī* (pp. 289-290); 'barely' : 'almost' (pp. 290-293).

Conflicting environments are to be taken into consideration in view of the possibility that one type of environment may „overcome" the influence of another (p. 293). An account of conflicting environments is given on pp. 293-300.

To complete his monograph, Hook expounds the uses of simplicia tantum (pp. 301-305) and those of composita tantum (pp. 305-313), and adds some concluding remarks (pp. 314-318).

3. Reviewing the work of Vincenc Pořízka, P. E. Hook mentions Pořízka's basic idea that, in Hindī, the simple verb as opposed to its modified counterpart is the unmarked member, and the modified verbal expression is the marked member of the opposition: „... unmodified verbs are unmarked for perfectiveness of the action: they have no inherent perfective aspect meaning nor do they preclude it and may denote it in certain contexts or situations. Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* are marked for perfectiveness; they have taken the function of signifying perfectiveness from unmodified verbs and developed into a special category" (VP 1967, p. 78 [supra, pp. 143-144], quoted in PN, p. 151).

Testing this opinion by means of his technique of the „reactance frame", Hook reaches the same conclusion (PH, p. 161): „The contrast between the simple and the compound verb is „privative": one term of the pair of contrasting elements conveys the presence of a given feature; the other conveys neither the presence nor the absence of that feature."

The same holds true for the contrast between „imperfective" and perfective verbs in Slavic languages: the „imperfective" verb is the unmarked member of the opposition (cf. Kuryłowicz, p. 96; Havránek, p. 219). This parallelism, however, must not be automatically extended to other details, even not to the terminology. Slavic languages do not have verbs marked for expressing an action in progress. The term „imperfective" verbs indicates an opposition to perfective verbs, but it cannot suggest any opposition, e.g., to verbs denoting progressiveness (cf. VP 1967, p. 70; 1969, pp. 355 f. [supra, p. 137; pp. 223 f.]).

More differences are connected with the functions of tense-forms. Not infrequently, a Slavic language has only one word where Hindī offers two ways of expression. In particular, this applies to the preterite: for 'he arrived (on one occasion)', a Slavic translation has to use a perfective verb (i.e., a verb marked for perfectiveness), while Hindī has *vah āyā* (unmarked for aspect) or *vah ā gayā* (marked for perfectiveness; cf. also VP 1967, pp. 73 f. [supra, pp. 139 f.]). On the other hand, when the preterite denotes a multiplied (repeated) action or continuance of an action in the past, the parallelism between Hindī and Slavic languages may reappear: a Slavic imperfective verb may be used as an equivalent of the Hindī preterite (cf. VP 1967, pp. 74-77 [supra, pp. 140-143]). This squares with the fact that, in the conative preterite, Hindī employs the simple verb (cf. below, no. 5). Hence, it is true that „translations of Hindī into Slavonic languages are often found to render compound verbs with perfectives and simple verbs with imperfectives", but it would be an oversimplification to regard this fact as a „substantive argument" concerning the problem of perfective verbal aspect in Hindī or in Slavic languages; Hook is wrong in believing that such a „substantive argument" is presented by Pořízka in his monograph (see PH, p. 153, mentioning VP 1967, p. 67 and p. 77, fn. 109 [supra, pp. 133-134 and p. 142]). Though the aspectual systems in Hindī and in Slavic languages have much in common, they differ in many details (as pointed out repeatedly in VP 1967, pp. 65, 70, 73 f., 219, 226; 1969, pp. 349-351; 1970, p. 83 [supra, pp. 132, 136-137, 139 f,, 162-163, 169, 217-220, 243]). After all, grammatical phenomena of any language developed from intrinsic principles peculiar to that particular language. The products of this development in different languages differ in both their forms and their functions.

4. In Slavic languages, perfective verbs do not occur with phasal verbs: in instances such as 'the curtain begins to fall', Czech, Russian etc. have the infinitive of an „imperfective" verb (Czech: 'opona začíná padat'), not the infinitive of a perfective verb (in Czech, it would be incorrect to say 'opona začíná spadnout'). Similarly, with phasal verbs, Hindī uses the infinitive of the simple verb: *pardā girne lagtā hai* 'the curtain begins to fall'; it would be incorrect to employ the infinitive of the perfective verbal expression: a phrase such as *pardā gir jāne lagtā hai* is not conforming to Hindī usage (cf. VP 1967, p. 216; 1969, p. 30 [supra, pp. 159-160; 199]; see also below, no. 11).

The infinitive governed by a phasal verb remains neutral in respect of verbal aspect, the phasal verb itself functions as an aspectual auxiliary (cf. Havránek, p. 216) and may take either the form of a non-perfective or of a perfective verb (of perfective verbal expression, as in Hindī): 'he began to think' is *vah socne lagā* or *vah socne lag gayā* (cf. VP 1969, p. 30 [supra, p. 199]).

After having tested this Hindī usage by means of his technique of the „reactance frame", Hook says (p. 157): „Thus we may conclude that Pořízka is correct: Single acts when being started or stopped are not expressed with compound verbs in Hindī. Assuming that compound verbs express the perfective aspect, we have a neat explanation of their inability to occur with phasals, if we consider that from the point of view of its starting or stopping, any act or event, no matter how brief its duration in absolute terms, can be seen only as incomplete or imperfective."

In this conclusion, Hook's wording concerning single acts as being started or stopped is univocal in the given context referring to quoted examples. Without this reference it would be objectionable. To put it precisely, the wording should run: „After phasals, single acts being started or stopped ...". Besides, P. E. Hook does not distinguish between perfectiveness and completion of an action (cf. below, no. 6).

The non-occurrence of perfective verbs (or of perfective verbal expressions, as in Hindī) in the infinitive governed by a phasal verb is a negative datum of great relevance: it serves as a grammatical criterion of the perfectiveness (cf. VP 1967, p. 70; 1969, p. 30 [supra, p. 136-137; 199]). An apparent argument to the contrary could be seen in the fact that, in an Old Czech text, a negative perfective infinitive is used after the verb 'to begin'. But in Old Czech, a negative action (i.e., the fact that the action does not take place), even when expressed by a perfective verb, was conceived of in the same way as a non-perfective action, i.e., as a process of continuing in a state (for more detailed discussion, see Němec 1963, p. 92),

Another difficulty is connected with the use of infinitives after phasal verbs in Lithuanian: as L. Dambriūnas mentions, these constructions are formed not only with non-perfective infinitives, but also with those that are considered to be perfective. Yet, in many cases, iterative infinitives with a prefix are preferred to the perfective infinitives (Dambriūnas, p. 378). Dambriūnas's statement, however, is rejected by Ju. S. Maslov (Voprosy, p. 415, note 100). In Maslov's opinion, the very fact that the prefixal verbs are used after phasal verbs demonstrates that the prefixal verbs (or their infinitives at least) are not exclusively perfective.

But besides the criterion of inadmissibility of perfectives after phasal verbs, there is another reliable criterion of perfectiveness: the grammatical criterion of nonconcomitance, i.e., the inability of a perfective verb (or of a perfective verbal expression, as in Hindī), to denote an (attendant) action parallel to another action

(cf. Němec 1963, p. 92). This criterion accounts for the fact that, in expressions such as 'to go on doing', 'to keep on doing', not the participle of a perfective verbal expression, but the participle of a simple verb must be used: the participle denotes an action parallel to the action expressed by the main verb - at least when the expressions are considered genetically, with regard to their origin. Hook (p. 157, fn. 4) classes these combinations with phasal expressions: „Phasal expressions properly include *-tā/e/ī rah-, -tā/e/ī jā-* and *-e jā-* ('keep -ing', 'continue to -'). In construction with these expressions we do not find compound verbs."

5. To complete the schema of a privative contrast, Hook gives many examples showing, as he puts it, „that the simple verb may express imperfective activity" (PH, p. 163). In view of the fact that simple verbs often alternate with progressive forms (simple absolutive combined with *rahā hū̃*, etc.; cf. VP 1967, pp. 211-212; 1970, pp. 7l f. [supra, p. 155; 234 f.]), it may be surprising to learn that „imperfectiveness" of the simple verb is to be proved or tested. But Hook's idea is that, between the simple and „compound" verbs, there is the contrast conation - completion. Among Hook's 39 examples illustrating this contrast (pp. 164-180; with 69 control sentences: 108 items, all of them formed *ad hoc),* there is only one item with verbs in the pluperfect; all other instances have verbs in the preterite. This preterite may be termed conative preterite - a sort of preterite that usually escapes the attention of grammarians. One example (PH, p. 164, quoting Harender Vasudeva): *rājā ne tasvīr banāī magar nahī̃ ban pāī* 'the king tried to make a picture but couldn't'.

P. E. Hook (p. 163) mentions that, in Russian, the preterite of „imperfective" verbs may also be used to express conation or the attempt to perform an action. It may be added that, in Slavic, conation may be denoted by an „imperfective" verb not only in its preterite form (praeteritum de conatu), but also in its present-tense form (praesens de conatu; cf. Kopečný, pp. 28, 53; Němec 1963, p. 92).

In Hindī; there is also a conative imperfect (imperfectum de conatu; cf. VP 1967, p. 224 [supra, pp. 166-167]). But a simple verb in the form of a conative imperfect cannot be opposed to its perfective counterpart: the conative imperfect of a simple verb denotes a single action, the imperfect of a perfective verbal expression signifies a series of actions. On the other hand, a non-conative imperfect of a simple verb denoting a repeated (habitual) action may have its perfective counterpart in the form of the imperfect (cf: VP 1967, p. 224 [supra, p. 167]). Actions forming a series may be conceived of as non-perfective or as perfective; when a perfective verbal expression is used to denote such a series, each action of the series is signified as perfective, and, at the same time, the series itself is presented in its continuance, not as a whole (cf. VP 1967, p. 222 [supra, p. 165]).

Thus, the contrast between the simple verb and its perfective counterpart does not imply any inherent contrast between conation and perfectiveness. This is confirmed by the fact that perfectiveness may appear in any tense and in any mood (for 'sit down', Hindī has *baiṭho,* or *baiṭh jāo,* cf. VP 1967, p. 227 [supra, p. 169]), and even in any non-finite verb form (cf. VP 1967, pp. 227 f. [supra, pp. 170 f.]). Hook's observations concerning the contrast between conation and completion (PH, pp. 163-182) apply only to some particular instances and have no positive bearing upon the meaning of perfectiveness itself. They may support the force of the negative criterion of „the inadmissibility of a conative or incompletive interpretation for the compound" (PH, p. 169), but even this negative criterion meets

with difficulties: modified verbal expressions with *cal-, uṭh-* and *de-* (combined with an intransitive), in Hook's opinion (pp. 179-180) „permit a conative interpretation"; other writers suggest that these modifying verbs („vectors", in Hook's terminology) express inception (PH, p. 181, fn. 7); in fact, they suggest ingressiveness (cf. VP 1968, pp. 233 f. [supra, pp. 173 f.]). Neither inception nor conation is compatible with completion of an action; therefore, in his further investigation, Peter Hook has to consider „whether it is correct to identify prefective aspect with the rather absolute concept of completion" (PH, p. 181; for ingressives, see below, no. 12).

6. P. E. Hook (pp. 181-182) says: „If we take a more relative view of completion as our concept of the perfective aspect, we can show that its expression is a distinguishing feature of the category vector verb." In other words (PH, p. 182): „In the expression of an action that is seen as complete with reference to some other action we must have the compound verb." The criterion „expression of relative completion" has, in Hook's opinion, „class-discriminating power" (PH, p. 183). To illustrate this „class-discriminating power", Hook presents 40 examples (pp. 182-195; together with 103 control sentences, the number rises to 143), all of them formed *ad hoc.* As regards tenses, only the preterite and pluperfect are used in the examples, no other form of modified verbal expressions. Consequently, Hook's examples may be illustrative of completeness (or perfectiveness) as expressed by the preterite or the pluperfect, but they are irrelevant to the concept of perfectiveness as expressed by other forms of the perfective verbal expressions, in particular, by present-tense form, imperatives, etc. Therefore, Hook's criterion „expression of relative completion" (PH, p. 183) has no class-discriminating power.

Yet, one may ask what has impelled Hook to ascribe a „class-discriminating power" to the criterion „expression of relative completion". Hook's examples are modelled on the «construction using *jab tak ... tab tak ...* in which the completion of one action at a given moment in time is opposed to the non-completion of another: *jab tak maĩ vahã̃ pahũ̃cā tab tak vah calā gayā thā* 'by the time I got there he had already gone'» (PH, p. 182). Hook says (pp. 182 f.): „It is in the expression of an action incomplete not in an absolute sense but relative to some other action that we may not have the compound verb ... Similarly in the expression of an action that is seen as complete with reference to some other action we must have the compound verb (*... vah calā gayā thā;* not: *vah gayā thā*, nor *vah calā thā*)."

In view of the fact that, in some other forms of perfective verbal expressions (present-tense form, imperatives, etc.) no idea of completion (or of a „relative completion of an action") can serve as a criterion of perfectiveness, there must be some other factors occasioning the use of perfective verbal expressions in any form. As to the examples quoted by Hook, such a factor is not difficult to find: the opposition of the two actions occasions the use of a perfective verbal expression. This very opposition is a criterion indicating that the realization of an action is pointed out, consequently, that the action is conceived of as perfective. Compare also the example given in another place of Hook's book (p. 284): «"I tried to phone you at ten o'clock but I coud not get you at home." - 'Really? But I got in (*ā gayā thā*) at nine.'» Here, the context suggests surprise and occasions the use of the perfective verbal expression. For semantic criteria, see below, no. 11.

Anteriority of an action is not the same as perfectiveness of the action (cf. the examples given in VP 1967, pp. 87 f. [supra, p. 152]). Kuryłowicz (p. 90) observes:

„Anteriority may be a contextual variant independent of the perfective or imperfective aspect of the verbal form." Recently, P. E. Hook himself has modified his opinion: he admits that the contrast of anteriority with posteriority is not necessarily ascribable to or derivable from the contrast of perfective with non-perfective aspects (PH, 1976, § 8).

But the root of Hook's difficulties is somewhere else. The preterite of a simple verb and the preterite of its perfective counterpart have some functions in common. Among the common functions, the most important peculiarity is the capability of expressing c o m p l e t i o n of an action, i.e., realization of an action in the past. This completion is certainly not the same as p e r f e c t i v e n e s s. A simple verb expresses completion of an action irrespective of its realization as a whole, the preterite of a perfective verbal expression denotes completion of an action as a whole: it presents the action as marked for its realization as such, pointing out the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final (resultant) stage.

Consequently, trying to find out the nature of perfectiveness, the investigator must avoid the mistake of identifying perfectiveness with completion of an action. P. E. Hook did not avoid this mistake. His concept of „relative completion" (i.e., completion with reference to some other action, PH, p. 182) is based on the use of the „compound verbs" in the preterite and pluperfect (PH, pp. 182-195) and applies to the „compound verbs" in his examples just because they express a perfective action in the past. Therefore, the concept of a „relative completion" cannot apply, e.g., to a timeless action, in other words, the concept of a „relative completion" is irrelevant to the category of perfectiveness. (For an example of a simple verb in the preterite denoting a non-perfective action, see below, no. 10. For more examples and a more detailed discussion, see VP 1967, pp. 75-77 [supra, pp. 141-143].)

7. Perfective verbal expressions do not occur in most types of negative sentences (cf. VP 1969, pp. 21-23 [supra, pp. 191-193]). This negative criterion, „sensitivity to negation", is discussed in two sections of Hook's book (sensitivity to negation, pp. 98-103; simple environments - negative expressions, pp. 201-229). Hook says (p. 205): „If the paucity of negated compound verbs in Hindī derives from the absence of a negative conjunctive participle, then it would follow that in languages that do have such a participle one would expect to find negated compound verbs freely occurring." Yet another conclusion is possible. The occurrence of negative perfective verbal expressions may be connected with other factors than with their origin, e.g., with the tendency to bring the use of perfective verbal expressions into line with that of other verbal forms: the negative perfective verbal expressions may be modelled after the negative simple verbs which are in general use. Even the sporadic use of negative absolutives of actional verbs may be modelled after the use of the negative absolutives of non-actional verbs.

Looking for reasons of the restriction on uses of the negative perfective expressions irrespective of their origin, one has to take into account Igor Němec's explanation of a similar restriction on uses of Slavic perfective verbs: „The negated action of a subject (the fact that the action of the subject does not take place) is in substance a state of the subject" (Němec 1958, p. 33). „When we want to point out negation, we often negate not completion of the action, but its very beginning, the very intention of performing it, and, for such a meaning, the imperfective verbs are the exclusive means of expression" (Němec 1963, p. 96).

8. Discussing the use of negated „compound verbs“ after expressions of fear, Peter E. Hook directs his attention to two points: to the negative element and to the „compound verb“. He says (p. 213): „One would like to be able to explain the presence of such negatives: What is their source? And why are they found in expressions of fear and anxiety?“ Trying to find an answer, Hook examines some independent utterances (i.e., not subordinate clauses) of one who fears or trembles, and observes (p. 215): „Clearly the negative element in these independent utterances is not otiose. It is only their construction with expressions like *dil kā̃p-* which themselves incorporate a negative semantic element that makes the negative element they contain appear (to speakers of English, at least) redundant.“ As to the negated „compound verb“, P. E. Hook explains (p. 216): „Expressions of fear and apprehension of the type we are considering here are semantically double-edged. That is, what is being expressed is not only the fear that X will occur or may already have occurred but also the hope that it will (or has) not. It may be that the opposed but complementary semantics of a positive fear and a negative hope may be related to the presence of two normally mutually exclusive but here complementary linguistic elements.“

In fact, either a simple verb or a perfective verbal expression may occur in clauses depending on expressions of fear: *mujhe ḍar hai ki kahī̃ koī dekhtā na ho* (Guru, p. 577) ‘I am afraid that someone may be watching’. Here, the action of watching is parallel to the feeling of fear, therefore a perfective verbal expression cannot be used (the criterion of non-concomitance is to be applied, cf. above, no. 4). The same holds true for other languages capable of expressing the contrast between the perfective and non-perfective aspect (e.g., in Czech, we have ‘bojím se, že se někdo dívá’).

A perfective verbal expression is used only when the action is conceived of as a whole: *hamẽ ḍar hai ki kahī̃ laṛkā kho na jāe* (MHK, s. v. *ḍar)* ‘we are (I am) afraid that the boy may get lost’.

The negative element in clauses of fearing is puzzling many grammarians (cf. PH, p. 212, 215). Trying to explain the seemingly illogical negation, one has to take into consideration both the form and the origin of these clauses: in respect of their form and origin, they are negative imperative or optative sentences (for details, see Trávníček, p. 692).

9. Generic and stative expressions are examined on five pages (pp. 243-248) in the section treating of „simple environments“. P. E. Hook presents these definitions of the expressions in question: „We define ‘generic’ here as any expression of universal scope used either to teach children about the world; foreigners, the language; or as a kind of catch-phrase or proverb“ (p. 243). „Stative expressions are those that specify static relations. They differ from generics in that they need not be of universal scope and do not express activities. They express relations which stand outside of delimitable time: those of shape, extent, composition, ability, knowledge, belief, possession, even age“ (pp. 244 f.).

Closing this short chapter, Hook says (p. 248): „Not to find compound verbs in statements that present facts as timeless characteristics (generics) or describe not actions or events but static relations (statives) cannot be considered surprising. Given our characterization of the compound verb as denoting the completion of an action (relative to some other action) it is clear that neither generic nor stative expressions provide the temporal dimension in which such aspectual contrasts may exist.“ Any statement to the contrary is, in Hook’s opinion, in direct contradiction with his findings (cf. PH, p. 248, fn. 13).

But Hook's own book disproves what he asserts about the non-occurrence of „compound verbs" in generic and stative expressions. Sporadically, among the examples presented by Hook in various parts of his monograph, there are instances such as: *roz maĩ sau pacās mūrtiyā̃ bec letā hū̃* ... 'every day I sell from fifty to a hundred images...' (PH, p. 32); *bhālū peṛõ par caṛh kar śahd toṛ kar khā letā hai* 'the bear climbs trees and ripping open the hives eats the honey' (PH, p. 44); *murauvat murauvat kī tarah kī jātī hai, apnā ghar uṭhā kar nahī̃ de diyā jātā* 'there are limits to a favor, you don't simply pick up your house and turn it over to someone' (PH, p. 98); etc., etc. These examples show that perfective verbal expressions may be used in the present-tense form to express habitual, repeated actions, timeless characteristics, general truths, etc.

Instances of this type are not infrequent (for some more examples, see VP 1967, p. 218 [supra, pp. 161]; there, however, only expressions with *jānā* are discussed, others being beyond the scope of the paper).

In the present-tense form, simple verbs, as a rule, denote a present action irrespective of any verbal aspect, their perfective counterparts express a perfective action irrespective of any particular time sphere: the category of perfectiveness interferes with that of the present tense. To illustrate this function of the perfective verbal expressions, one has to take into consideration, in particular, historic present, scenic (or dramatic) present, characterizing present, and gnomic present (general truth, etc.). (For scenic and historic present, see below, no. 11.)

10. Definitions of verbal aspect mentioned in Hook's monograph do not offer any clear-cut idea of what the perfective verbal aspect is. On p. 159, he says: «Aspect in the elegant definition of Sweet is the contrast of „distinctions of time independent of any reference to past, present or future."» Sweet's statement may be an elegant wording, but it is no definition: it does not involve non-finite verbal forms conveying no distinction of time. If Sweet's idea was to refer to a timeless action, then his definition might apply to the present-tense form of perfectives denoting timeless characteristics - the very type of „compound verbs" that P. E. Hook disregards. (PH, p. 248; cf. above, no. 9).

On another page of his book (p. 161), Hook says: „As the term itself implies, aspect has a great deal to do with how the speaker wishes to view an event, with his temporal point of view. If this point of view is from the outside, then the event is seen as a point, as a completed whole; if from the inside, then the event is seen as a line, as incomplete and unfolding. Verb forms expressing the first point of view are perfective; those expressing the second, imperfective." This, again, is no definition: it is a figurative description.

On p. 181, Hook's formulation is more explicit: „The term 'aspect' implies 'point of view' not the completion or non-completion of some activity regardless of the speaker's point of view. If we take a more relative view of completion as our concept of the perfective aspect, we can show that its expression is a distinguishing feature of the category vector verb." To support his standpoint, Hook adds a footnote (p. 181, fn. 9): «A view that is consonant at least with Forsyth's definition of the Russian perfective aspect as expressing „the action as a total event summed up with reference to a single specific juncture"». No matter what Forsyth's definition may express, Hook's concept of „relative completion" of an action (i.e., completion with reference to some other action, PH, p. 182) is irrelevant to the category of perfectiveness and must be rejected (see above, no. 6).

A definition of perfectiveness must apply not only to finite verb-forms denoting a completed action, but also to those expressing a timeless action; it must be applicable even to ingressive verbs (pointing out the beginning of an action, cf. below, no. 12) and to all non-finite verb-forms. In Hindī, the perfective verbal aspect is the capacity of a verbal expression to denote an action as marked for its realization as such, pointing out most often the realization of the action as a whole, inclusive of its final (resultant) stage, but sometimes pointing out the beginning of the action (cf. VP 1967, p. 71; 1969, p. 34 [supra, p. 137; p. 203]). True, this is no elegant wording, but it may be of some use until a concise definition is found (for a brief account of the meaning of perfectiveness, of its criteria and of the uses of perfective verbal expressions in Hindī, see VP 1972, pp. 543-567).

A different concept of aspectual meanings of Hindī verbs has been adopted by A. Sharma trying to describe the aspectual system operating in Hindī. In his opinion, simple verbs express the „terminate" aspect, i.e., they represent „the act as a whole, as a fact", while „compounds" of a main verb (absolutive, „root") with *rahā, rahe, rahī* signify the „progressive" aspect, i.e., they represent „the action as progressing" (as in 'he is going', etc.; Sharma, pp. 75-76; 130). Sharma's opinion, however, is disproved by documentary evidence: a simple verb may represent the action as progressing, as actually going on, not as a whole. Sharma himself admits in another place of his grammar (p. 88) that *vah jhūṭh boltā hai* may mean the same as *vah jhūṭh bol rahā hai*, viz. 'he is telling a lie (on this occasion)'.

Mentioning the use of the preterite *maĩ calā* 'I moved', A. Sharma (p. 92) repeats his statement that the verb is „terminate" and represents the past action „as a whole or as a fact, not as going on". True, this applies to examples given in Sharma's grammar. But documentary evidence shows that a simple verb in the preterite may also express a non-perfective action: *Lalcanmā jab tak jiyā, jī jān se merī sevā us ne kī* (Nāgārjun, p. 12) 'Lalchanmā took care of me with all his soul as long as he lived' (for more examples and for a detailed discussion of the uses of the preterite, see VP 1967, pp. 75-77 [supra, pp. 141-143]; Sharma's opinion is discussed in VP 1969, pp. 345-348 [supra, pp. 214-217]).

For some more definitions of perfectiveness and their application to aspectual systems in various languages, see, e.g., Maslov, Voprosy, pp. 7-9; see also definitions of perfectiveness and its criteria given in VP 1969, pp. 31-45 [supra, pp. 200-212].

11. To illustrate the uses of perfective verbal expressions and to test some criteria of perfectiveness, a few examples may be given: *pardā girtā hai* (Prabhākar, V.[1], pp. 26, 110, 158; Prabhākar, V.[2], pp. 21, 41, 49, 53, 62, 73, 80, 87, 91; Aśk, Up., pp. 59, 92) 'the curtain falls' (Czech: 'opona padá'; scenic present, stage direction); *pardā g i r j ā t ā h a i* (Prabhākar, V.[1], pp. 83, 173; Aśk, Up., p. 115) 'the curtain falls down' (Czech: 'opona spadne'; scenic present, stage direction); *pardā g i r n e lagtā hai ..., pardā p ū r ā g i r j ā t ā h a i* (Prabhākar, V.[2], pp. 36-37; Prabhākar, V.[3], pp. 30, 41) 'the curtain begins to fall ..., the curtain falls down completely' (Czech: 'opona začíná padat ..., opona spadne docela'; scenic present, stage direction); *pardā g i r n e lagtā hai ... Yahĩ pardā p ū r ī t a r a h g i r j ā t ā h a i* (Prabhākar, V.1, p. 84) 'the curtain begins to fall ... There the curtain falls down completely' (Czech: 'opona začíná padat ... V tom okamžiku opona spadne docela'; scenic present, stage direction).

These examples of stage directions are given in the present-tense form, but they do not represent the actions as actually going on at present: the actions may be

realized at any time the play is performed. Such a scenic present may be expressed either by a simple verb or by a perfective verbal expression. As seen from the data given with the names of the playwrights, the simple verbs are most frequently used. Perfective verbal expressions occur when the realization of the action is pointed out, esp. when the action is realized under uncommon circumstances; sometimes, however, the choice of the form of the scenic present depends upon stylistic considerations (cf. the examples given in VP 1967, pp. 216 f. [supra, p. 160]). The meaning of perfectiveness, i.e., the realization of the action as a whole, is sometimes pointed out even lexically (by adverbs, adverbial expressions, adjectives used complementally). In the last two examples given above, the realization of the action as a whole is pointed out by the adjective *pūrā* 'full' and by the adverbial expression *pūrī tarah* 'fully', 'completely'. Other semantic criteria of perfectiveness are suddenness or hastiness of the action, its unexpectedness, inconsiderateness, etc. (for a detailed discussion, see VP 1969, pp. 43-45 [supra, pp. 211-212]).

P. E. Hook, concentrating on „compound verb" as denoting the „completion of an action relative to some other action" (PH, p. 248), tries to trace circumstances of such a „relative completion" (PH, p. 182f.) in various environments of the „compound verb" (PH, pp. 196-300). Some of these environments suggest semantic criteria, such as unexpectedness (cf. „lack of prior knowledge", pp. 248-250, *ākhirkār* 'at last', 'finally', pp. 269-271, 316 f.). Other semantic criteria are mentioned sporadically in various parts of Hook's monograph: suddenness (pp. 47, 121), vehemence (p. 127), startling appearance (p. 132), extreme disapproval and contempt (p. 136), etc.

Semantic criteria are useful for practical purposes, but they may sometimes prove to be misleading. Perfective verbs (or perfective verbal expressions, as in Hindī) are conveniently used when attention is focused on the realization of the action, but attention may be directed to a sudden and unexpected action in one case, and to a slow or anxiously expected action in another case (cf. VP 1969, pp. 43-45 [supra, pp. 211-212]). Perfectiveness is a grammatical category, and, in testing a grammatical category, grammatical criteria are the only factor of relevance.

An important grammatical criterion of perfectiveness is shown in the two last examples given above: in the infinitive governed by a phasal verb, a simple verb, not a perfective verbal expression, is to be employed. A sentence such as *pardā gir jāne lagtā hai* is not conforming to Hindī usage (cf. VP 1967, p. 216; 1969, p. 30 [supra, pp. 159-160; 199]; see also above, no. 4). This grammatical criterion has been adopted by Hook in his monograph, he even gives the example *pardā girne lagtā hai* 'the curtain begins to fall' (taken from VP 1969, p. 30 [supra, p. 160]; PH, p. 153; cf. also VP 1967, p. 216; 1969, p. 43 [supra, pp. 159-160; 210-211]), without mentioning that the sentence is a stage direction and without inquiring into the use of verbal forms in stage directions though, in stage directions, he could find not only numerous instances of the use of perfective verbal expressions, but also important details helping to specify characterizing marks and criteria of this use. But this is not the only type of linguistic material neglected by P. E. Hook. As shown above, he ignores even the import of the documentary evidence presented in his own book (perfective form of timeless present, etc., see above, no. 9). Similarly, he disregards the use of the perfective form of historic present (author's speech) in an example given, again, in his own monograph: *śervānī pahne ek dublā sā ādmī kahī̃ se nikal kar saṛak par ā j ā t ā h a i* 'a thin man wearing a shervani comes out from some place onto the road' (PH, pp. 68-69).

12. Some modifying verbs combined with the simple absolutive of a main verb form expressions pointing out the beginning of an action. P. E. Hook mentions that some „vectors" permit a „conative interpretation" (PH, p. 180), and gives examples with the vectors *cal-, uṭh-,* and *de-* (combined with the simple absolutive of an intransitive main verb). In a foot-note (p. 181, fn. 7), he adds: „Several writers suggest that these vectors express inception." But neither conation nor inception is compatible with Hook's characterization of the compound verb as denoting „the completion of an action (relative to some other action)," (PH, p. 248). He leaves the problem unsolved and says (p. 181): „While it would be very interesting to investigate just what it is that vectors *cal, uṭh, de* (with intr.), etc., in these sentences do express (if not completion), such a discussion would take us away from the principal concern of this section: the relation of compound verbs as a class to the category of aspect."

Ingressiveness of an action is no grammatical category, but a „mode of verbal action" („Aktionsart"): it involves a modification of a verbal action with regard to the lexical meaning of the verb (cf., e.g., Gonda, p. 24; Maslov, Voprosy, p. 10). Thus, ingressiveness is not the same as perfective or non-perfective verbal aspect: both the perfective and the non-perfective (in Slavic: „imperfective") verbs may be classed with ingressives (as, in Czech, Polish, etc. In Czech, we have, e.g., the perfective verb *rozběhnout se* and the non-perfective („imperfective") verb *rozbíhat se;* both of them mean 'to start running').

In Hindī, in addition to verbal expressions mentioned by Hook (pp. 178-181), the modified verbal expressions with *jānā* may serve to point out the beginning of an action when the ingressive meaning squares with the sense of the main verb and is required by the context or situation: *pānī k h a u l j ā t e hī cāy par ḍhāl dījiye* (Sarasvatī) 'as soon as the water begins to boil, pour it on the tea' (directions for preparing tea).

In such expressions, the very beginning of the action is pointed out as a whole. Similarly, e.g., in Czech: 'rozběhl se', etc. (cf. Havránek, pp. 219, 228). For more examples of ingressive expressions in Hindī, see VP 1968, pp. 233 f. [supra, pp. 173 f.]).

13. Summing up the argument of the last section of his monograph, P. E. Hook says on p. 318: „In this section (4) we have attempted to provide a methodical and objective demonstration of a hypothesis offered by Vincenc Pořízka. In the course of examining and elaborating his hypothesis we have encountered facts that impel us to offer a supplementary hypothesis: the opposition compound : simple verb in Hindī functions not only to express aspectual contrast but in addition performs the communicative functions which in English are associated with the oppositions *some : any* and *the : a.* We leave the systematic demonstration or the conclusive refutation of this hypothesis to our successors."

As to Hook's supplementary hypothesis, it may be mentioned that, 54 years ago (in 1923), Josef Zubatý pointed out the perfective verbs as often being more definite than their non-perfective counterparts. He noticed also that the difference in explicitness is not always relevant to the sense of the statement (see the quotations given in VP 1969, pp. 33-34 [supra, p. 202]).

Hook's words concerning „objective demonstration" presented in his book reveal the author's self-assurance. No doubt his attempt to elucidate the category of perfectiveness as operating in Hindī is a remarkable achievement in a field unknown to many grammarians. But the technique of the „reactance frame" adopted by P. E.

Hook has hindered him from evaluating some linguistic material relevant to the matter under discussion, viz. the perfective forms of timeless present, scenic present, etc. (see above, nos. 9, 11); these forms are difficult to illustrate by examples formed *ad hoc* (Hook gives about 350 examples formed *ad hoc*, with more than 500 control sentences, and only 55 textual attestations besides 50 examples taken from various grammars and dissertations). Thus, Hook's linguistic material remained fragmentary and could not serve as a reliable basis for conclusive solution of the problem of perfectiveness. Consequently, Hook's definition of perfectiveness proved inadequate (cf. above, no. 10). After all, treating of perfective verbal expressions in terms of „verb sequences" (p. 1), „verb-verb sequence" (p. 2), „a sequence of verb stem plus verb stem plus desinence" (p. 96), or „vector sequence" (p. 106), and testing their environments (pp. 196-300) by means of the criterion „expression of relative completion" (pp. 183, 206, 218, 248, etc.), one can never grasp perfectiveness as different from completion of an action and from anteriority of the action (cf. above, nos. 6, 10).

14. Some minor points may be added. On p. 3 (foot-note 4), Hook says: «It is clear that the following generalization concerning compound verbs in *jā-* would not be of much practical assistance to the learner faced with the task of deciding whether the expression of a given action in Hindī should be via a simple verb or a compound: „Modified verbal expressions with *jānā* simply denote an action as marked with regard of its realization as such."» Quoted from VP 1969, p. 43 [supra, p. 211].

True, the learner will have to grasp the import of the words „marked with regard to its realization as such". But his task will not be made any easier if he has to grasp the import of Hook's „verb-verb sequences" (pp. 2, etc., etc.) to be examined by means of the criterion „expression of relative completion" (pp. 183, 206, etc., etc.), and if he has to scrutinize Hook's long series of environments (simple environments, pp. 201-260; compound environments, pp. 261-281; distributed environments, pp. 282-292; and conflicting environments, pp. 293-300).

On p. 35, Hook gives the example *ṭāmī bār bār uchal kar us kī god mẽ ā baiṭhne kī asaphal ceṣṭā kartā* 'leaping up again and again Tommy made unsuccessful attempts to sit in his lap'. As seen from Hook's translation, *baiṭhne* is not grammaticalized and has its lexical meaning. The sentence cannot serve as an example of a perfective verbal expression.

On p. 65, fn. 1, Hook gives the example *tum dekh āe vah goh kī khāl sūkh gaī hai ki nahĩ* 'have you seen whether the lizard skin has dried or not (and come back from seeing)?'. He is wrong in taking this example as illustrative of the matter discussed in VP 1969, no. 25,5 [supra, pp. 189-190]: there, t e n examples are given to show v a r y i n g logical relations between an absolutive and its main verb, not to illustrate any „reversal of conjoined main verbs" of the type discussed by P. E. Hook (PH, pp. 65-72).

On p. 257, line 10, there is the abbreviation „k 134"; this is a misprint or a mistake. The example is taken from Jainendra Kumār, while Hook's list of abbreviations (p. xxiii) has „k" for *Karmabhūmi* by Premchand.

Mentioning simple verbs alternating with their compound counterparts, Hook says (p. 197): „No attempt has ever been made to discover contexts in which compound verbs m u s t occur." Well, an attempt was made by Hook himself, discussing „composita tantum" (PH, pp. 305-313). The perfective verbal expressions will have to be examined one by one, taking even the meanings of each of them separately (cf. VP 1968, pp. 243-245 [supra, pp. 182-184]). This is a task not for one scholar, but for generations.

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ON THE PERFECTIVE VERBAL ASPECT IN BENGALI

(Apropos of some recent publications)

1. Some grammarians, making no distinction between 'complete' and 'completed',[1] take the term 'perfectiveness' in the sense of 'completedness'. Thus, I. A. Svetovidova defines verbal aspect as „expressing completedness or uncompletedness of an action".[2] But Svetovidova's definition must not be interpreted in the sense that any action expressed by a past tense is viewed perfectively. Discussing the uses of tenses in Bengali, Svetovidova states (p. 218) that „four tense-forms do not show completedness or uncompletedness. Considering the form out of its context, one cannot say with certainty whether or not the action expressed by the form is completed". - „Apparently, in Bengali, in the perfect, the preterite, the pluperfect, and the future, no distinction is made between completedness and uncompletedness of the action, i. e., these tense-forms are aspectually neutral."[3]

2. In Bengali, besides simple verbs (*e. g. haoẏā* to be, to become, to happen, to occur), there are modified verbal expressions (e.g., *haẏe yāoẏā* to become, to happen,

[1] Comrie (p. 18), mentioning the words 'complete' and 'completed', says: „... despite the formal similarity between the two words, there is an important semantic distinction which turns out to be crucial in discussing aspect". - For further discussion, see Comrie, pp. 18-19.

[2] Svetovidova, p. 217: «Вид глагола в соответствии с установившейся в последние годы у нас и за рубежом традицией принято рассматривать как выражение законченности или незаконченности действия». - „In accordance with the tradition established in this country and abroad in recent years, it has been found appropriate to regard the verbal aspect as an expression of completedness or uncompletednes of an action." - In further discussion, Svetovidova (p. 221) uses the terms 'несовершенный вид' ('imperfective aspect') and 'несовершенность' ('imperfectiveness'). - Svetovidova's definition is inaccurate; see below, fn. 8, V. B. Kasevič and U. S. Maslov. - For the perfective verbal aspect as operating in Hindī, some grammarians, again, give definitions based on the idea of a completed action. Thus, H. van Olphen says (p. 292): „The perfective aspect refers to completed action", and (p. 297): „The perfective aspect is used to describe completed actions." But van Olphen does not produce any documentary evidence from Hindī literature to support or illustrate his opinion.

[3] Svetovidova, p. 218: «четыре временных формы не указывают на законченность или незаконченность действия. Рассматривая форму вне контекста, нельзя с уверенностью сказать, закончено или нет выраженное ею действие». - «По видимому, в бенгальском языке в настоящем результативном, прошедшем общем, прошедшем нерезультативном и будущем временах, не различается законченность - незаконченность действия, т. е. эти временные формы нейтральны по отношению к категории вида». - Svetovidova's terminology (pp. 214-215): Настоящее общее время (Praesens) *kari.* - Настоящее длительное время (Praesens compositum) *karitechi.* - Настоящее результативное время (Perfectum) *kariyāchi.* - Прошедшее общее время (Praeteritum) *karilām*. - Прошедшее обычное время (Frequentativum) *karitām.* - Прошедшее длительное время (Imperfectum) *karitechilām.* - Прошедшее нерезультативное время (Plusquamperfectum) *kariyāchilām.* - Будущее время (Futurum) *kariba.* - In the transliteration adopted in the present paper, the letter *ẏ* stands for *y* pronounced like the English *y* in *yoke,* and for *y* doubling the preceding consonant. E. g., *kariẏāchi, niẏe, Caṭṭopādhẏāẏ,* etc. Svetovidova writes *kariyāchi, niye, Caṭṭopādhāy,* etc.

to occur). These expressions are combinations of the past participle in *-e* (*-iẏā*, in *sādhu-bhāṣā)* of a main verb with any form of a modifying verb, provided that the modifying verb is fully grammaticalized, i. e., loses its lexical meaning and becomes a grammatical word. Thus, *yāoẏā* means 'to go', but in *haẏe yāoẏā* 'to become' this meaning is lost. Not infrequently, however, the modifying verb retains its lexical meaning to some extent (e. g., *yāoẏā* to be going to, to be about to); the functions of the verbal expression vary accordingly.

Modified verbal expressions (generally termed 'compound verbs') are examined in many grammars of the Bengali language and in numerous grammatical studies.[4] Grammarians most often concentrate on the differences in the meanings of individual modified verbal expressions. Thus, S. K. Chatterji gives this classification of 'compound verbs' formed with the past participle in *-iẏā* (Chatterji (b), p. 319): Completives, Inceptives, Staticals, Continuatives, Intensives (Indicatives), Habituals, and Examinatives (Appreciatives).[5]

I. A. Svetovidova (p. 220) describes 'compound intensive verbs' (i. e., modified verbal expressions, in our terminology) as a class: „Compound intensive verbs can express many different meanings (direction of the action, qualitative characteristics, nuances of the verbal voice), but their basic rôle is to characterize intensiveness of the progress of an action (state). Besides the kind of action, they express the aspect of the verb, stressing completedness or uncompletedness of the action." - „... with aspectually neutral past-tense forms, the compound intensive verbs bring to the forefront the meaning of completedness of the action, involved in the tense-form (and also show intensiveness of the progress of the action)."[6] Thus, in Svetovidova's opinion, the meaning of perfectiveness is closely connected with the past-tense

[4] See, e. g., Bykova, pp. 58-70. A critical survey of opinions expressed by eminent scholars is given on pp. 59-64.

[5] For more details and for a critical comment on S. K. Chatterji's standpoint, see Bykova, pp. 59-61. - D. Zbavitel (pp. 80-114) divides 'compound makers' (modifying verbs, in our terminology) into two large groups: (a) intensifiers, and (b) those conveying the meaning of continuity or repeatedness. Besides, Zbavitel compiled statistical data concerning the frequency of 18 'compound makers' found in ten Bengali literary texts from the 15th century up to contemporary prose. The number of 'first components' (main verbs, in our terminology) capable of forming 'verbal compounds' is - in Zbavitel's survey - 72 (Zbavitel, pp. 115-120). Zbavitel occasionally uses the term 'perfective in aspect' (p. 11), but he gives no definition of perfectiveness. He speaks of 'verbal compounds' conveying „the meaning of the completion of the verbal action" (p. 91; 99-100), or „indicating a verbal action which was concluded" (p. 102). Discussing the uses of the past participle in *-iẏā/-e* in participial constructions („perfective participle" in „adverbial clauses", pp. 18; 67-68), Zbavitel notes two types of relative time reference involved in the participle: its action precedes the action expressed by the verbal predicate or the two actions are simultaneous (pp. 18; 67-68). Zbavitel found simultaneity of the two actions in about one third of the instances recorded in his monograph (p. 67). Duplicated „perfective participles" sometimes alternate with duplicated „imperfective participles" without any difference in meaning: *hāsiyā hāsiyā* and *hāsite hāsite* 'with smile' (p. 70). All these facts indicate that the past participle of simple verbs is aspectually neutral. Compare the examples given below, no. 6.

[6] Svetovidova, p. 220: «Сложноинтенсивные глаголы могут выражать много различных значений (направленность действия, качественная характеристика, залоговые оттенки), но основная их роль - характеризовать интенсивность протекания действия (состояния). Помимо способа действия, они выражают вид глагола, подчеркивая законченность или незаконченность действия». - «... у прошедших времен, нейтральных по отношению к виду, сложноинтенсивные глаголы выдвигают на первый план значение законченности действия, заключенное во временной форме (а также указывают на интенсивность протекания действия)».

forms.[7] But Svetovidova gives very few examples of the uses of tenses in Bengali: only one example (rarely two examples) for individual tenses. Hence, her statement is unconvincing.

The meaning of perfectiveness is not restricted to past-tense forms: it can be expressed by past-tense, or present-tense, or future-tense forms, and even by non-finite verb-forms. In Bengali, certain modified verbal expressions point out the action as viewed perfectively, provided that the modifying verb is fully grammaticalized and the expression does not form a looser combination precluding the two components from coalescing semantically so as to denote one action presented as perfective. To prove this opinion, the use of modified verbal expressions in individual tense-forms as well as in nonfinite verb-forms must be examined. I would exceed the scope of the present paper to test the uses of all modified verbal expressions. The functions of some of them are discussed below. A more comprehensive study must be left over for further monographs.

3. I. A. Svetovidova is right in pointing out the aspectually neutral character of simple verbs when used in the preterite (simple past), perfect, and pluperfect. Some quotations may illustrate, e. g., the uses of the preterite of *haoẏā* to be, to become, to happen, to occur, and those of the modified verbal expression *haẏe yāoẏā* to become, to happen, to occur, as well as the meanings of some other modified verbal expressions:

samasta rāt nāc hala, gān hala (Ṭhākur, R., p. 72) people danced and sang (were dancing and singing) all night, lit., dancing was (done), singing was (done); progressive actions expressed.

śune āmār mane hala, „e kathā satẏi" (Ṭhākur, R., p. 155) having heard this, I thought (lit., it occurred in my mind): „This is true." The action denoted by *hala* is viewed as a complete whole.

khābār ṭhaṇḍā haẏe gela (Ṭhākur, R., p. 57) the dishes became cool (have become cool); the action is looked upon as a complete whole.

āmi to bẏākul haẏe paṛlem (Ṭhākur, R., p. 165) (suddenly) I got bewildered; completeness and suddenness of the action expressed.

tāṛātāṛi cā kheẏe Amal uṭhe paṛlo (Basu, B., p. 24) Amal drank up (his) tea in a hurry and stood up (all of a sudden); completeness and suddenness of the action expressed; *paṛā* itself means 'to fall'.

Thus, *haẏe gela, haẏe paṛlem,* and *uṭhe paṛlo* express the perfective verbal aspect of the respective actions, i. e., they point out the actions as a complete whole, or, to use the words of B. Comrie,[8] as a single unanalyzable whole.

[7] A quite different view is expressed by Rácová (p. 34): „...the tense of the compound maker cannot be taken into account when the function of a compound maker is being determined." But Rácová does not produce any textual attestation to prove or illustrate her opinion. In her paper, she has only two Bengali quotations (from a modern Bengali author; he is quoted in the paragraph referring to the use of the verb *āch-* 'to, be', p. 31). Rácová disregards the perfective verbal aspect as operating in Bengali, she does not even mention the term 'aspect'.

[8] Comrie, p. 3: „...the verb presents the totality of the situation referred to (...) without reference to its internal temporal constituency: the whole of the situation is presented as a single unanalysable whole, with beginning, middle, and end rolled into one; no attempt is made to divide this situation up into the various individual phases that make up the action ..." See also Comrie, p. 13. - Compare the definition given by V. B. Kasevič (p. 78): «Форма совершенного вида представляет действие как целостное, неделимое, поэтому несоотносимое с фазами (начало, продолжение, конец), в это

Expressions formed with certain modifying verbs combine the meaning of perfectiveness with some semantic nuances such as suddenness of the action, etc. (see *haẏe paṛlem* and *uṭhe paṛlo* in the above instances.

4. The perfective verbal aspect is most common in the preterite, but it is not restricted to the preterite. In Bengali, it operates in other tense-forms, too, and is not infrequent in nonfinite verb-forms as well: they are aspectually neutral when formed from simple verbs, but they can express perfectiveness by virtue of their contexts. Perfective verbal expressions also occur in these verb-forms.

The verbal nouns in *-ā* and *-bā* (*-ibā,* in *sādhu-bhāṣā*):

nānān loker nānān yāoẏār jāẏgā (Basu, B., p. 39) different people - different ways to go, lit., different places of going to; no restriction on the progress of the action is suggested.

yāoẏār āge namaskār karlo (Basu, B., p. 20) he made a respectful bow before going away; the actions (*yāoẏār, karlo*) are viewed as a whole.

jal phoṭāmātra cāẏer opar ḍhālun (Prabāsī, p. 172) as soon as the water boils (begins to boil), pour (it) on the tea; directions for preparing tea; the beginning of the action (*phoṭā* to bubble in boiling) is pointed out as a whole (ingressive meaning).[9]

jene śune kāuke mere phelāke narahatẏā bale[10] (Page, p. 154) deliberately killing anyone is called murder; *mere phelā* is a perfective verbal expression combining the meaning of perfectiveness with the idea of 'entirely'; *phelā* itself means 'to throw'.

kāj karār par biśrām nebār samaẏ biṛiṭā khābe orā (Mānnā, G., p. 3) after having done (their) work, they will take a rest and smoke (their) *biṛis;* lit., at the time of taking a rest: *nebār* indicates a situation in progress; *karār par* refers to the action as a whole.

kichu balbār bā jānbār thākle balte pāren (Basu, B., p. 17) if you have anything to say or to learn, you can speak; *balbār* and *jānbār* denote actions looked upon as not restricted in their progress; similarly, the infinitive *balte.*

abaśeṣe yāibār din āsiẏā gela (Bandopādhẏāẏ, B., p. 81) at last, the day of setting out (on the journey) came (has come); *yāibār* denotes the action irrespective of its progress, i. e., as a whole; *āsiẏā gela* points out the perfective verbal aspect of the action.

āsibāmātra (Mitra, p. 950) immediately after coming; this expression generally denotes the perfective verbal aspect of the action related to any time-point.

время как форма несовершенного вида не содержит таких ограничений в передаваемом ею грамматическом значении». - Подстрочное примечание: «Именно поэтому можно сказать *начать образовывать*, но нельзя сказать **начать образовать*.» - „The form expressing the perfective aspect presents the action as total, indivisible, hence as not correlating with the phases (beginning, continuance, end), while the form expressing the imperfective aspect does not imply such restrictions in the grammatical import it presents." - In the footnote: „For this very reason it is possible to say *начать образовывать* (to begin to form), but it is not possible to say **начать образовать*." - Similarly, U. S. Maslov (p. 31): „In Russian and in other Slavonic languages the aspect works as an opposition of two grammemes, the so-called „perfective" and „imperfective". Here the assessment of an action given by the speaker can be more precisely determined by regarding this action in its totality, as an indivisible whole (perfective) or without reference to the totality (imperfective). Perfective forms never combine with „phasal" verbs such as „begin", „finish", „continue" (the construction *began or continued* + perfective infinitive is quite impossible)."

[9] Compare Comrie, p. 19: „... the perfective forms of some verbs, in particular of some stative verbs, can in fact be used to indicate the beginning of a situation (ingressive meaning)." - For further discussion, see Comrie, pp. 19-20.

[10] Page's transcription is replaced by the transliteration adopted in the present paper.

se ese paṛbāmātra āmrā cale esechi (Page, p. 155) we came away as soon as he arrived; *ese paṛbāmātra* points out the perfective verbal aspect and suggests suddenness, unexpectedness of the action.

5. The present participle in *-te* (*-ite,* in *sādhu-bhāṣā*) (functioning also as an infinitive):

dā̃t thākte dā̃ter maryẏādā bojhā yāẏ nā (proverb) the value of teeth can't be realized as long as one has them; *thākte* denotes continuousness.

śib gaṛte bānar hala (proverb) while one was making an image of Śiva, it has turned out a monkey; *gaṛte* implies conation, the action is viewed imperfectively.

kale chāpā pũthi - rogā rogā akṣar, paṛte māthā dhare yāẏ (Ṭhākur, A. (b), p. 48) the book is printed with a (printing) machine, the letters are (very) thin, one gets a headache (whenever) reading (it); *paṛte* denotes an iterated action in progress in each of its individual occurrences; *dhare yāẏ* is the habitual present indicating a recurrent situation and pointing out the perfective verbal aspect of the individual iterated actions (cf. below, fn. 14); at the same time, an ingressive meaning is implied (cf. above, fn. 9).

brāhmaṇ āstei Mīnu tāke praṇām kare balle ... (Ṭhākur, R., p. 50) as soon as the brāhmaṇ came, Mīnu bowed very low to him and said ...; *āstei* denotes a perfective action.

rājā hāt tule bastei tini jigges kallen, āpni kichu khelen nā kena? (Page, p. 194) as the king sat with upraised hand, she (i. e., the princess) asked him, „Why haven't you eaten anything?" The context suggests that *bastei* denotes continuousness of the situation ('sitting').[11]

tāke yete habe ār aikhānei thākte habe kālker dinṭā (Siṃha, Ā., p. 110) she will have to go and to remain there tomorrow the (whole) day; the infinitive *yete* 'to go', i. e., 'to get there', refers to the action as a whole; *thākte* denotes continuousness.

ṭhik samaẏe āste pārlum nā (Siṃha, Ā., p. 130) I couldn't come in time; the infinitive *āste* suggests perfectiveness of the action.

yuddhe rājā eta bhayānak rakam here yān ye tā̃ke ekebāre bhikkhārī haẏe yete haẏ (Page, p. 192) in (this) war the king was so terribly defeated that he had literally to become a beggar; the infinitive *haẏe yete* points out perfectiveness of the action; *yān* and *haẏ* are historic-present forms.

[11] D. Zbavitel (p. 55) produces two quotations with participles in *-tei* not expressing any succession of the verbal actions involved: *choṭoṭi Kalikātāy thākitei olāuṭhā haiyā mārā giyāche* (Rabīndranāth Ṭhākur) the younger (son) died of cholera, when (while) staying in Calcutta; *ardhek rāt tārpar āmāder parasparer khõj khabar nitei keṭe gela* (Premendra Mitra) half of the night was spent then by looking for each other. Zbavitel finds this use of the participles „rather surprising" and says: „In both these cases, obviously, an imperfective participle without *-i* would be more suitable." - In fact, in both these cases, the participles in *-tei* are quite suitable: participles of simple verbs are aspectually neutral and may convey either a perfective or a non-perfective meaning. The particle *-i* serves to emphasize the import of the participles (and of any other word, cf., e. g., Dās, J., p. 211; Mitra, p. 165) without suggesting any aspectual meaning. Zbavitel himself (pp. 14-15; 52-58) mentions two types of relative time reference involved in the present participle in *-(i)te* used in participial constructions („imperfective participle" used „at the end of a clause", p. 52): simultaneity with the action of the verbal predicate is often expressed by a duplicated participle (pp. 15; 57-58), less often by a simple participle (pp. 56-57), sometimes by the participle with *-i* (p. 55); antecedence in time is frequently denoted by the participle: with *-i* (pp. 14; 54-55), sometimes by the participle without *-i* (pp. 14; 53-54). These facts indicate that the present participle of simple verbs is aspectually neutral. Compare the examples given above, no. 5.

6. The past participle in *-e* (*-iẏā,* in *sādhu-bhāṣā*):

brāhmaṇ birakta haẏe cale gela (Ṭhākur, R., p. 50) the brāhmaṇ was displeased (lit., having become displeased) (and) went away; *haẏe* is perfective.

choṭa gāch haṭhāt caṭkā bheṅe jege uṭhe balle ... (Ṭhākur, A. (a), p. 34) the little tree, having been awakened suddenly from its reverie, roused itself from sleep and said ..; *bheṅe* is perfective; *jege uṭhe* points out the meaning of perfectiveness and ingressiveness; *oṭhā* itself means 'to rise', 'to get up'.

tāke dekhei balle ... (Basu, B., p. 82) as soon as he saw him, he said ...; *dekhei* is perfective.

jege uṭhei rājputra balle ... (Ṭhākur, R., p. 144) as soon as the prince woke up, he said ...; *jege uṭhei* points out the meaning of perfectiveness and ingressiveness.

bāman haẏe cā̃de hāt (proverb) being a dwarf, but putting a hand on the moon; *haẏe* is stative.

se rātre śoke śrānta bāp, ghumiẏe ghumiẏe kṣaṇe kṣaṇe gumre uṭheche (Ṭhākur, R., p. 39) during that night, the father, tormented with grief, muttered to himself every moment in his sleep; *ghumiẏe ghumiẏe* is stative.

bichānāẏ śuẏe śuẏe (Ṭhākur, R., p. 100) while lying in bed; *śuẏe śuẏe* is stative.

7. The conditional participle in *-le* (*-ile,* in *sādhu-bhāṣā*):

kauṛi hale bāgher dudh mele (proverb) if one has money (lit., cowrie shells), tiger's milk can be obtained; *hale* is stative.

cor palāle buddhi bāṛe (proverb) when the thief has run away, sense increases; *palāle* is perfective.

āpni õr opor erakam coṭe uṭhle calbe nā (Page, p. 34) it'll never do for you to get angry with him like this; *coṭe uṭhle* points out the meaning of perfectiveness and ingressiveness.

8. Passive participle:

pathe cenā ek bhadraloker saṃge dekhā halo (Basu, B., p. 58) on the way, he met a gentleman with whom he was acquainted; *cenā* is stative.

dā̃t thākte dā̃ter maryẏādā bojhā yāẏ nā (proverb) the value of teeth can't be realized as long as one has them; a general truth, *bojhā* suggests no restriction on the action.

curi kare sab miẏā̃i, kintu dharā ye paṛe sei haẏe yāẏ cor (Basu, B., p. 47) every gentleman steals, but who gets caught that one turns thief; *dharā* is perfective.

ebār theke bhāter badle chāi beṛe deoẏā habe (Basu, B., p. 6) from this time, you will get ashes instead of food, lit., ashes will be dealt (to you) (at each time); *beṛe deoẏā* refers to a recurrent situation viewed perfectively in its individual instances.[12]

9. Simple present (Praesens, in Svetovidova's terminology, see above, fn. 3), again, is formed from simple verbs as well as from modified verbal expressions („compound intensive verbs", in Svetovidova's nomenclature). Svetovidova (p. 217) classes the simple present with tenses denoting uncompletedness (i. e., imperfective aspect, Svetovidova, p. 221) of an action. When a „compound intensive verb" is used in the form of the simple present, the import of the tense is - in Svetovidova's opinion - intensified, „the durativity or habituality of the progress

[12] Cf. the habitual present, below, fn. 14, and the perfective imperfect, below, fn. 17.

of the action (and its intensiveness as well) is stressed".[13] But Svetovidova gives only two examples to illustrate the uses of the simple present with simple verbs (p. 215), and no example to show the functions of the simple present with a „compound intensive verb". Therefore, her statement is unconvincing.

As to the aspectual functions of the present-tense forms, B. Comrie (p. 72) gives some explanations regarding the perfective verbal aspect: „... the present, as an essentially descriptive tense, can normally only be of imperfective meaning. In contrasting past and present tense, it therefore becomes clearer why there should be a greater need for this particular aspectual distinction in the past than in the present." Further, B. Comrie says (p. 73): „Thus an explicit perfective, distinct from the imperfective, is most common in the past tense, and least common in the present tense. ... Apart from the past, where the perfective is commonest, and the present, where it is rarest, there does not seem to be any general principle as to where aspectual distinctions will next manifest themselves, since the remaining categories (future tense, and nonfinite forms like infinitives and participles) seem equally susceptible to aspectual differentiation ...".

In Bengali, some modified verbal expressions are often used to point out a perfective action expressed by the simple present functioning as the historic (narrative) present, or as the habitual present, or as the present denoting a characteristic feature, a general truth, etc. Not infrequently, however, modifying verbs *(yāoẏā, āsā,* etc.) retain their own lexical meanings to some extent.

tārpar ekdin khelāghar cheṛe choṭa choṭa pākhī tārā eke eke uṛe yāẏ (Ṭhākur, A., (a), p. 83) then, one day, the little birds abandoned the playroom and flew away one by one, lit., having abandoned the playroom, they fly away; historic present, perfectiveness is pointed out.

Banmālī āścaryẏa haẏe yāẏ ... ekṭā kathā balte giẏe Śaṅkar theme yāẏ (Bandẏopādhẏāẏ, M., p. 21) Banmāli gets astonished ... Śaṅkar, (while) going to say something, (suddenly) stops; historic present-tense forms, perfectiveness is pointed out.

pather pāśe ... ekṭā mānuṣke base thākte dekhe tār buk kẽpe yāẏ (Bandẏopādhẏāẏ, M., p. 22) having seen a person sitting by the roadside, he started to tremble, lit., his heart starts to tremble; historic present, perfectiveness is pointed out, ingressiveness is implied.

ekhan din giẏeche, andhakār haẏe āse (Ṭhākur, R., p. 8) now, the day has passed, it is getting dark, i. e., approximately, it is going to get dark; the historic present *āse* denotes a progressive action; *haẏe* is perfective, and refers to the approaching situation as viewed perfectively (cf. below, no. 10, and fn. 15).

Rām cup kare base thāke, āste āste andhakār neme āse, mane haẏ o yena ekhani mare yābe. mastiṣk nistej haẏe eseche. āste āste uṭhe āse (Mānnā, G., p. 33) Rām remains sitting without a word. Slowly, darkness falls (upon him), it seems (to him) that he will die this very instant. His brain has become dim. Slowly, he gets up. *base thāke* is the historic present expressing stativity; *mare yābe and haẏe*

[13] Svetovidova, p. 220: «В первой группе времен сложноинтенсивные глаголы интенсифицируют значение времени, подчеркивая длительность или обычность протекания действия (а также его интенсивность)». - „In the first group of tenses, the compound intensive verbs intensify the meaning of the tense, stressing durativity or habituality of the progress of the action (and its intensiveness as well)." - The first group of tenses comprises Praesens compositum, Imperfectum, Frequentativum, and Praesens; see Svetovidova, p. 220. - For Svetovidova's terminology, see above, fn. 3.

eseche point out perfectiveness; *āse* is the historic present; *neme* and *uṭhe* are perfective and refer to the approaching, or, in the case of *uṭhe*, to the intended situation as viewed perfectively.

Hātipurer mānuṣ Hātipure phire yāẏ dhīre dhīre (Bandẏopādhẏāẏ, M., p. 34) people of Hātipur go back slowly to Hātipur; historic present, the two verbs retain their own meaning in a measure: having returned, they go.

hāīkorṭ dauṛaï, phirte sandhẏā haẏe yāẏ (Siṃha, Ā., p. 110) I (always) run to the High Court, (and) before I come back, it is (usually) evening; *haẏe yāẏ* is habitual present pointing out the perfectiveness of ther actions in individual instances;[14] at the same time, the idea of ingressiveness is implied.

kale chāpā pũthi - rogā rogā akṣar, paṛte māthā dhare yāẏ (Ṭhākur, A. (b), p. 48) the book is printed with a (printing) machine, the letters are (very) thin, one gets headache (whenewer) reading (it); habitual, present, iterated ingressive perfective action pointed out.

curi kare sab miẏẽi, kintu dharā ye paṛe sei haẏe yāẏ cor (Basu, B., p. 47) every gentleman steals, but who gets caught that one turns thief; the actions are presented as generally occurring, *haye yāẏ* points out perfectiveness.

mānuṣer jībane duḥsamaẏ ki āse nā, kintu andhakār ek din keṭe yāẏi (Siṃha, Ā.,. p. 118) don't evil days come in the life of a human being? But, one day, the darkness will certainly pass away; a general truth; *keṭe yāẏ* points out perfectiveness.

keu yadi ciniẏā phele? (Bhaṭṭaśālī, N., p. 54) (and) if somebody comes to know (about it) (i. e., succeeds in discovering it)? - perfectiveness of a possible, expected action is pointed out.

10. The compound present of simple verbs (as, *kar'chi, karchi,* or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, karitechi* I am doing) is generally regarded as a tense denoting an action in progress. But it may occasionally stand for a simple present. Thus, S. K. Chatterji mentions that *ha'cche* is frequently used for the simple present *hay* in *calit-bhāṣā* (Chatterji (c), p. 136). We have, e. g.,

ekṭi mātra kathā sab samaẏe mane rākhben, āpni hacchen ekṭi bheṛā (Basu, B., p. 32) bear alwas only one thing in mind: you are a sheep (i. e., you must place yourself in a group or company; said by a service-man to a recruit); *hacchen* is stative.

āmār khub khide pācche (Hudson, p. 55) I am very hungry; *pācche* is stative.

ãdhār haẏe āsche (Page, p. 159) it's getting dark - as compared with *andhakār haẏe āse* (Ṭhākur, R., p. 8) it is getting dark, i. e., approximately, it is going to get dark; *āsche* and *āse* are progressive; *haẏe* is perfective, and refers to the approaching situation as viewed perfectively.[15]

deri haẏe yācche (Simha, Ā., pp. 110, 117) it's getting late, i. e. approximately, it is going to get late; *haẏe* is perfective, and refers to the approaching situation as viewed perfectively.

oḥ! buk jvale yācche, buk jvale yācche! (Rāẏ, H., p. 20) ah, (my) breast is burning, (my) breast is burning! (= is going to be burnt down); *jvale* is perfective; *jvale yācche* suggests that the perfective action expressed by *jvale* is imminent.

[14] See Comrie, p. 69: „... the habituality involved is that of a situation which would in itself, as a single instance, be treated as perfective; i. e. the Present Tense is used to express a habitual situation by presenting one instance to exemplify the recurrent situation."

[15] Cf. Page, p. 97: «*ār ekkhānā pare eso nā* go and put on another one (scil. dhuti), do. - Bengali often says 'come having done' instead of 'go and do'» - *pare* is perfective.

Kusumer mane haïta, se pabitra naẏaner nirmmal dṛṣṭi yena bidẏutāgnir mata tār dehamanke jhalsāiẏā diẏā yāiteche (Rāẏ, H., p. 12) Kusum usually had the impression that the clear look of those pure eyes was as it were going to scorch (completely) her soul like the fire of lightning; *jhalsāiẏā diẏā yāiteche* is a looser verbal expression consisting of three components; it points out perfectiveness of the action expressed by *jhalsāiẏā diẏā,* and, at the same time, presents this action as approaching.

gāchṭā bale uṭhlo, „rājkanẏā, tomāder bhaẏ nei. āmi phɛ̃k haẏe yācchi, tomrā tār bhetare ḍhuke rāt kaṭāo (Page, p. 188) suddenly the tree began to say, „Princess, you are in no danger. I'm going to split open; come in through the opening and spend the night"; *haẏe yācchi* signifies the perfectiveness of an intended action to be carried out soon.[16]

11. Imperfect (*ka'rchilām, ka'cchilām*, or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, karitechilām* I was doing): *āpan jībaner malinatā Kusumke sab samaẏei kātar kariẏā rākhīta. ei malinatār bhitare thākiẏāo se ye ekṭā bhāla kāj karite pāriẏāche, eṭā bhābiẏāo man tār santoṣ o pulake pūriẏā uṭhitechila* (Rāẏ, H., p. 22) her sinful life kept Kusum in a state of dejection all the time. The mere thought that - though remaining in (her) sinful state - she was able to do good (to a person) (repeatedly) filled her heart with gratification and a great joy; *pūriẏā uṭhitechila* refers to a recurrent situation and points out perfectiveness of the actions in individual instances.[17]

se gaṛgaṛ kariẏā baliẏā yāitechila (Rāẏ, H., p. 18) she went on talking incessantly with a roaring voice; *yāoẏā* retains the meaning of 'going on'.

se bāṛī dauṛe yācchilo, pā āṭke paṛe gelo (Page, p. 72) he was running home, and tripped and fell down; lit., was going rapidly (or hurriedly); *yāoẏā* retains its meaning.

12. Frequentative and conditional (*ka'rtām, kartām,* or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā*, *karitām* I used to do; (if) I did):

cumuk diẏe yadi baltem, „dudh kothā gela?" to sāph bujhiẏe dita... (Ṭhākur, A. (b), p. 4) whenever I touched (the milk) with my lips and said, „Where is (lit., has gone) (good) milk?", she (always) explained simply...; *bujhiẏe dita* refers to a recurrent situation and points out perfectiveness of the actions in individual instances; compare the use of the perfective imperfect (above, no. 11, and fn. 17).

ghoṛāṭā prāṇpane prabhur kāj kare dito (Page, p. 180) the horse used to work for his master his very hardest; a recurrent situation viewed perfectively in its individual instances.

ei mānuṣgulo nā kheẏe diner par din tile tile marlei tomār deś bujhi svādhīn ha'ẏe yeto (Basu, B., p. 8) if these people did not eat, and died slowly day after day, your country would perhaps get liberated; *ha'ẏe yeto* points out perfectiveness.

13. Perfect (present perfect) *(ka'rechi, karechi,* or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, kariẏāchi* I have done):

śarīr ekebāre abasanna ha'ẏe paṛeche (Basu, B., p. 24) suddenly, he felt completely dejected, lit., (his) body (has) got exhausted; perfectiveness is pointed out, the meaning of suddenness is implied.

[16] Here, and in other instances of a similar type, some Slavic languages (Czech, Polish, Russian) offer the use of a verb combining the meaning of perfectiveness with that of futurity. In Czech: rozštěpím se, rozevřu se.

[17] For the perfective imperfect, compare Comrie (p. 31): „One of the functions of the Perfective Imperfect is to describe a situation that is iterative, and each of whose individual occurrences would itself be referred to by the Perfective ..."

kājṭā haẏe geche (Page, p. 147) the work is finished; perfectiveness pointed out.

se rātre śoke śrānta bāp ghumiẏe ghumiẏe kṣaṇe kṣaṇe gumre uṭheche (Ṭhākur, R., p. 39) during that night, the father, tormented with grief, muttered to himself every moment in his sleep; lit. approximately, (suddenly) started to mutter: perfectiveness is pointed out, ingressiveness is implied.

uni ghumiẏe paṛechen (Siṃha, Ā., p. 121) he fell asleep; perfectiveness is pointed out, ingressiveness is implied.

14. Pluperfect (past perfect) (*ka'rechilām, karechilām*, or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, kariẏāchilām* I had done):

sedin Rāmer bāṛite giẏe āścaryẏa haẏe giẏechila Lakhīndar (Mānnā, G., p. 35) having gone to Rāma's house that day, Lakhīndar got astonished; perfectiveness is pointed out.

tār hāte Śailar hāt ghāme bhije giẏechila. Kālācā̃der gā-o gheme giẏechila (Bandẏopādhẏāẏ, M., p. 48) Śaila's hand got wet with perspiration in his hand. Kālāchānd (lit., Kālāchānd's body), too, got into a perspiration; perfectiveness pointed out.

Amal lajjita haẏe paṛechila (Basu, B., p. 41) Amal got ashamed; perfectiveness is pointed out, ingressiveness is implied.

ekṭukhāni se ghumiẏe paṛechila (Basu, M., p. 51) she fell asleep for a short while; perfectiveness pointed out, ingressiveness implied.

15. Future (*ka'rba, karba,* or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, kariba* I shall do):

mane haẏ o yena ekhani mare yābe (Mānnā, G., p. 33) it seems (to him) that he will die this very instant; perfectiveness is pointed out.

māthāṭā yena or chīṛe paṛbe (Mānnā, G., p. 32) his head as it were will break; perfectiveness pointed out, suddenness and ingressiveness implied.

ājker ḍāke pārśel ese paṛbe (Basu, M., p. 51) a parcel will (suddenly) come with today's post; perfectiveness pointed out, suddenness implied.

mane hala, Mandodarīke se bujhi khun kare phelbe (Bandẏopādhẏāẏ, M., p. 50) he thought he would perhaps murder Mandodarī; perfectiveness pointed out.

ekhani theke bāje kharac ekebārei kamiẏe deba (Siṃha, Ā., p. 118) from now on, I shall cut down petty expenditures completely; perfectiveness pointed out.

16. Imperative: *e ghare Rebār upasthiti bhule yeo nā* (Siṃha, Ā., p. 130) don't forget that Rebā is present in this room; perfectiveness is pointed out.

dūr kare dāo beṭīke ekhani (Page, p. 186) away with the girl at once; perfectiveness pointed out.

kaṇḍākṭar, rāstār moṛe āmāke nāmiẏe diẏo (Chatterji (c), p. 164) conductor, put me down at the head of the street; perfectiveness pointed out.

cārṭi bhāt kheẏe yān (Page, p. 159) have a mouthful of food before you go; lit., having eaten, go; *yān* retains its lexical meaning.

kāj śeṣ karei yeẏo (Page, p. 159) don't go till you've done your work; *yeẏo* retains its lexical meaning.

„*... sei rātrei āmār nūtan nām Dāminī diẏe bāp āmāke sampradān karen.*" - *'eman? ācchā, bale yāo, māsi'* (Ṭhākur, A. (b), p. 70) „... the same night, (my) father gave me a new name, Dāminī, and gave me away (in marriage)." - 'Did he? Well, go on telling, aunt.' *karen* is historic present; *yāo* retains its own meaning of 'going on'.[18]

[18] S. K. Chatterji classes *khāiẏā yā-* with „Continuatives" (Chatterji (b), p. 319). He explains (Chatterji (c), p. 139): „*khāiẏā (kheye)-yāoẏā* having eaten, to go = go on eating". - This, however, is no close combination: *yāoẏā* retains its own meaning of 'going on'.

17. Jules Bloch (p. 295) mentions the rôle of the stress accent: *se gāche uṭhiẏā ´paṛila* he climbed the tree and fell down, lit., having climbed the tree, fell down; *se gāche ´uthīẏā paṛila* he climbed the tree, i. e., he succeeded in climbing the tree.[19]

18. Verbal expressions in the form of an infinitive (present participle in *-te,* or, in *sādhu-bhāṣā, -ite*) governed by a verb (or a verbo-nominal expression) meaning 'to begin':

kẏāpṭen sāheb bale yete lāglen (Basu, B., p. 18) the captain went on, i.e., began to go on speaking, lit., having spoken, he began to go on; *yete* retains its meaning of 'to go on'.

bẏārāker nambar dha're hābildār ḍākte suru karle, ār bẏārāk kamāṇḍārrā tār loker sāmne dā̃ṛiẏe uttar diẏe yete lāgla (Basu, B., p. 47) the sergeant (havildar) began to call out the numbers of the barracks one by one, and barrack-commanders, standing in front of the men of the barracks, began to give (their) reports, lit., having given (their) answers, began to go on, i. e., to take their turns; *yete* retains its meaning of 'to go on'; *ḍākte* cannot be conveniently replaced, e. g., by *ḍeke phelte*.[20]

jiniṣpatra ākrā hate suru ha'lo, saṃsār kramei acal haẏe paṛte lāglo (Basu, B., p. 51) things began to be too high-priced, (and,) by and by, one could hardly find means to make both ends meet, lit., the household, having become incapable of activity, began to fall (into the state of resourcelessness); *paṛte* retains the sense of 'to fall', to some extent at least.

The verb meaning 'to begin' can take the form of a modified verbal expression:

ek din tini tā̃r kārkhānā-ghare āgun theke jal, jal theke māṭi, gaṛte lege giẏechilen (Ṭhākur, R., p. 45) one day, he (the Creator) began to make water from fire, (and) earth from water in his workshop.[21]

19. In Bengali, as in Hindī, the simple verb is aspectually neutral. In all its finite and nonfinite forms, it can express perfectiveness by virtue of a certain context or situation. To point out perfectiveness, modified verbal expressions are used (with modifying verbs such as *yāoẏā, āsā, phelā, oṭhā, paṛā,* etc.). These expressions, however, are easily decomposable: the modifying verb can retain its lexical meaning to some extent (then a looser combination is formed), or may be treated as an individual verb (then the two verbs do not combine at all); the meaning varies accordingly. *Mutatis mutandis,* the same applies to Hindī. In this respect, Hindī and Bengali go their own ways differing from languages expressing perfectiveness by simple verbs or by prefixal compounds (Czech, Polish, Russian, Lithuanian, Latvian, Georgian, Hungarian, etc.)

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[19] Bloch (p. 295): „Il suffit de rappeler l'emploi que fait par exemple de 'tomber' le bengali: *se gāche uṭhiẏā páṛila, se gāche úṭhiẏā paṛila* où suivant la place de l'accent d'intensité, il y a ou non groupement de façon qu'on obtient deux sens contradictoires: 'monté à l'arbre, il est tombé; il est parvenu à grimper à l'arbre' (Anderson, *Manual of the beng. lang.,* p. 35)." - Zbavitel (p. 20) mentions that „*ese paṛla* can mean either 'he came and fell down', or, interpreted as a compound, 'he suddenly came'." - The same example and the same interpretation is offered by Rácová (pp. 29-30).

[20] This opinion is confirmed by the information given by Śrīmatī Aṇimā Tanejā, a scholar of Bengali and Hindi, born in a Bengali family now living in Delhi.

[21] In Hindī, phasal verbs govern the infinitive of a simple verb. The verb (or verbo-nominal expression) meaning 'to begin' takes the form of a simple verb or of its modified counterpart. See Pořízka (a), 1967, p. 216; 1969, p. 30 [in this volume, see supra, pp. 159-160; p. 199]. Pořízka (b), pp. 68, 74-75 [supra, pp. 250, 256]. Hook, pp. 153-157. - For phasal verbs governing the infinitive of an imperfective verb in Russian, see Kasevič (p. 78) and Maslov (p. 31) quoted above, fn. 8.

To evaluate properly the perfective verbal aspect as operating in Bengali, vast linguistic material will have to be collected with regard to individual modified verbal expressions as used in all finite and nonfinite verb-forms. A no less momentous task will be the historico-comparative research connected with the problems concerning the origin of this particular phenomenon in Indian languages. The broad lines of such research were pointed out by S. K. Chatterji in his Presidential Address delivered to the All-India Oriental Conference at its 17th Sessions 26 years ago (Chatterji (a), pp. 41-42): «With the want of prepositions (or preverbials) to modify meanings of verb roots, both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian have developed the use, in a most curious and idiomatic way, of conjunctives and participles with an adverbial function, giving rise to what is known as the „Compound Verb". Thus, in Sanskrit we have *ni-*, preverbial, + root *sad* = English „sit down", but Bengali *basiyā paḍā* „sit down", beside *basā* = „to sit"; so Hindi *baiṭh jānā,* beside *baiṭhnā.* In Dravidian languages, like the Indo-Aryan modifying roots, certain roots like Tamil *koḷḷu* „to take", *varu* „to come", *vidu* „to live", *pō* „to go", *uru* „to come", *adi* „to strike", *paḍu* „to suffer", Telugu *konu* „to buy or take", *vesenu* „to throw", *iccu* „to give" etc. are used. For example: Tamil *cey viṭṭān* = „has finished", Bengali *kariyā diyāche;* Telugu *vrāsi vēyu* = „to finish writing, to write off", Bengali *likhiyā phelā,* etc. This kind of adverbial or prepositional use of an auxiliary verb goes back to Middle Indo-Aryan: e. g., Pali *sampādetvā adaṁsu* = „completed", literally „having finished, gave", compare Bengali *karīyā diyāchila; patitvā gataṁ* = „fell down", Bengali *paḍiyā gela; maccu ādāya gacchati* = „death takes away", literally „having taken, goes", cf. Bengali *laiyā jāy.* Evidently, this novel device characterizing also the Dravidian was becoming adopted in Indo-Aryan from pre-Christian times, as in Pali.»[22]

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[22] The Tamil form *cey* used by S. K. Chatterji in the above quotation should read *ceytu;* cf. the combinations with *viṭ(u)-,* e. g., in Rudin, pp. 71-73. - For the definition of the perfective verbal aspect as operating in Hindī, see Pořízka (a) 1967, p. 71; 1969, p. 34 [supra, pp. 137-138; p. 203]; (b), p. 74 [supra, p. 256]; (c), p. 549. - For the uses of the preterite in Hindī with simple verbs denoting an action without reference to its totality, see examples quoted by Pořízka (a) 1967, pp. 76-77 [supra, pp. 142-143]; (b), p. 69 (conative preterite) [supra, p. 251]; p. 74 (preterite expressing a non-perfective action) [supra, p. 256]. Compare also examples given by Hook, pp. 164-180 (conative preterite). - For Hindī participles used either with a non-perfective or with a perfective meaning, see Pořízka (c), pp. 551-553.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND TRANSLITERATION CONVENTIONS

The thirteen articles collected in this volume constitute a representative selection of Pořízka's scholarly writing over more than forty years. Omitted were his early theological treatises on the term „Son of Man" and on Solovjev (both in Czech) and short articles in the Czech language, mostly reviews, published in Czech journals and newspapers, two review articles - *A New Achievement in Hindī Lexicography* dealing with the two-volume Hindi-Russian Dictionary published in 1972 (ArOr 43, 1975, pp. 76-82) and *Hindī-Russian and Urdū-Russian Dictionaries (Lexicographical Work Linked to Linguistic Research)* (ArOr 47, 1979, pp. 185-192) and three shorter papers. The first two, *On the Aspectual Contrast in Hindī* published in: Topics in Hindi Linguistics. Vol. II. Edited by Omkar N. Koul. Bahri Publications, Chandigarh-New Delhi 1982, pp. 122-134, and *Aspectual Functions of Simple Verbs and Verbal Expressions in Hindī*, in: K. S. Singh (ed.), Readings in Hindi-Urdu Linguistics. National Publishing House, New Delhi 1978, pp. 158-164, reiterate, in concise form, his earlier findings concerning the verbal aspect in Hindī elaborated in much greater detail in articles presented in this volume. The third is a short paper entitled *Terminology of Non-finite Verb-forms in Bengali: Professor Vincenc Lesný's Line of Approach to Some Linguistic Problems*, in: Vincenc Lesný and Indian Studies (Centenary Commemoration Volume). Ed. by Jan Filipský. Czechosloval Society for International Relations - Oriental Institute of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences, Praha 1982, pp. 65-71.

Bibliographical references in the footnotes were left substantially unchanged in the format adopted by Pořízka himself, even if this underwent some minor changes over the years. The author's references in the footnotes to his own earlier works were supplemented, wherever possible, by the editor with the corresponding page numbers in the present volume. These cross-references appear in „[]". Apart from obvious misprints which were corrected, the editor included all corrections and improvements marked by Pořízka himself either in his offprints or in the Errata sections appended at the end of some of his articles.

Minor changes were made in the transliteration. *ē* and *ō* in the transliteration of Sanskrit and modern Hindī texts were changed, in accordance with the author's own convention adopted later, into *e* and *o*. In other cases the macrons were left unchanged. In the original articles, three different ways of marking a nasalised vowels can be found. In 1950 Pořízka used the superscript tilde (*vahã̄*); this was later (1952, 1954) substituted by the sign ŋ (*vahāŋ*), and finally by ^{n} (*vahā^{n}*); for reasons of better legibility, the editor of this volume decided to use the first alternative throughout. Superscript was retained only for marking of the „reduced ʌ"

occuring mostly at the end of some words: *praśn$^{(a)}$*. „Inherent *a*“, variously pronounced or omitted by different speakers, was marked, in accordance with his own later usage, by *(a)*: *gar(a)m*. All these transliteration conventions conform to rules which Pořízka himself introduced in his textbook *Hindština - Hindī Language Course* (2nd ed., Prague 1972).

The articles collected in this volume were originally published in:

1. Bhagavadgītā eiusque doctrina de bhakti. Ad marginem status questionis. *Acta Academiae Velehradensis [AAV], Annus XIII, Fasc. 1, Olomucii 1937, pp. 27-34.*

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13. On the Perfective Verbal Aspect in Bengali. (Apropos of Some Recent Publications). *ArOr, vol. 47, 1979, pp. 321-333.*

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